This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

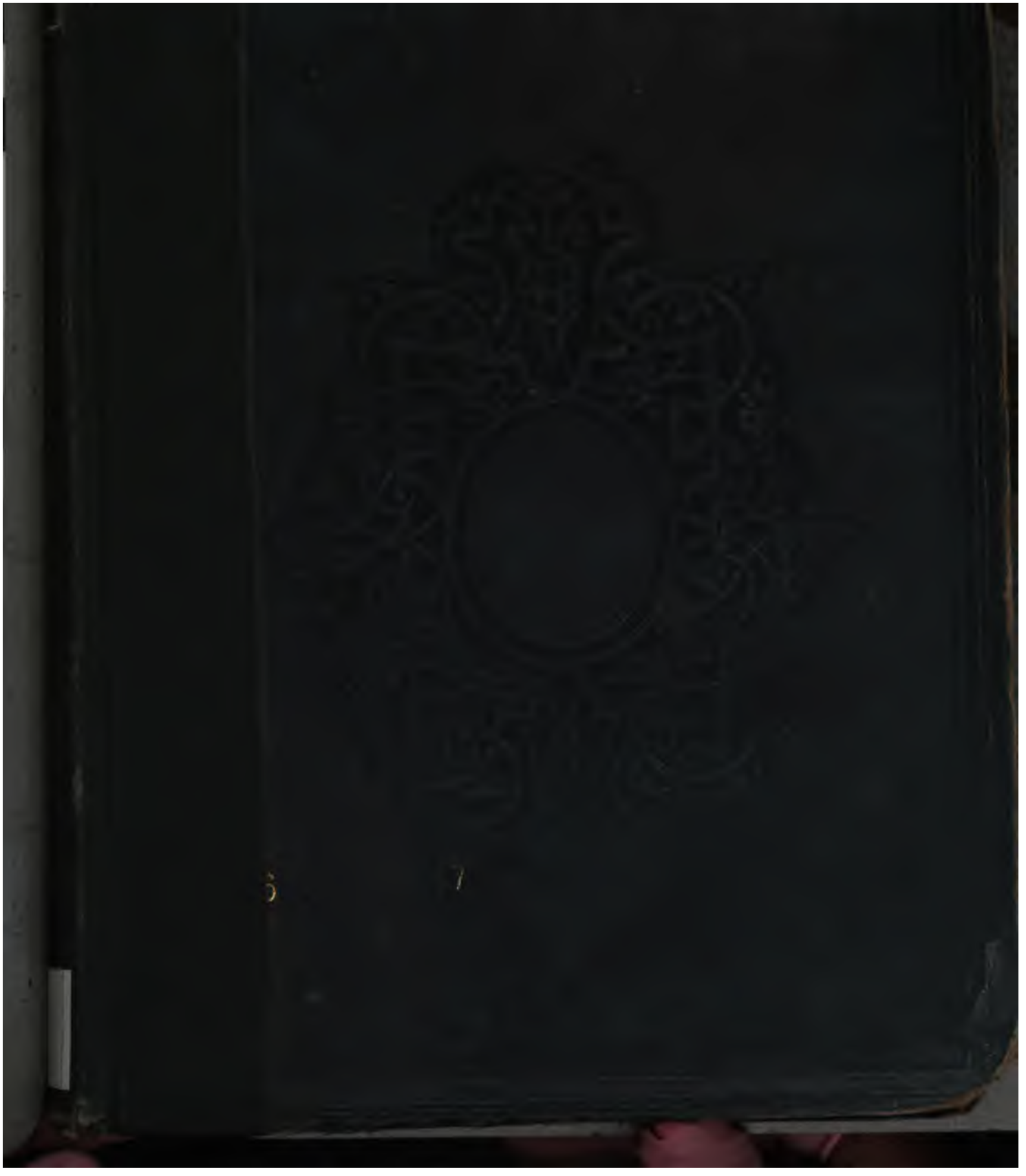
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

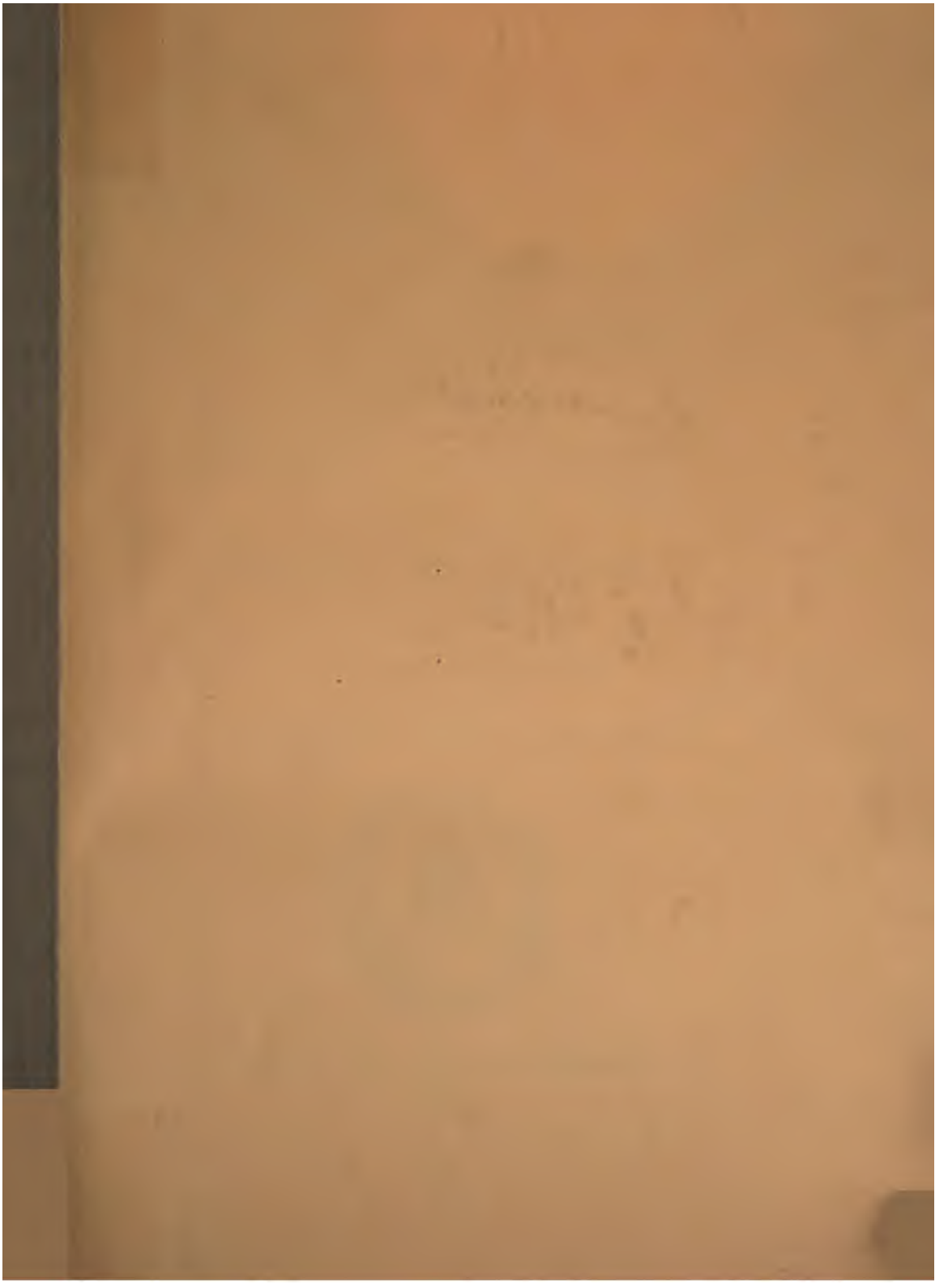
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



THE

CHRONICLE OF QUEEN JANE,

AND OF

TWO YEARS OF QUEEN MARY,

AND ESPECIALLY OF THE

REBELLION OF SIR THOMAS WYAT.

WRITTEN

BY A RESIDENT IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

EDITED,

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS AND NOTES,

BY

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ. F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.L.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.
LIBRARY
A 26913

LONDON:
J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, PRINTERS,
PARLIAMENT STREET.

[NO. XLVIII.]

COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1849.

President.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A.

THOMAS AMYOT, ESQ. F.R.S., F.S.A. *Director.*
WILLIAM HENRY BLAAUW, ESQ. M.A.
JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. Treas. S.A.
JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ. V.P.S.A. *Treasurer.*
C. PURTON COOPER, ESQ. Q.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, ESQ. F.S.A.
BOLTON CORNEY, ESQ. M.R.S.L.
SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Sec. S.A.
THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.
JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, ESQ. M.A.
PETER LEVESQUE, ESQ. F.S.A.
FREDERIC OUVRY, ESQ. F.S.A.
THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, ESQ. F.R.S., F.S.A.
HENRY CRABB ROBINSON, ESQ. F.S.A.
WILLIAM J. THOMS, ESQ. F.S.A. *Secretary.*

The Council of the Camden Society desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications; the Editors of the several works being alone responsible for the same.

PREFACE.

THE Harleian MS. 194 is a pocket diary, extending from July 1553 to October 1554. It is written, or rather scribbled, in so bad a hand that even Stowe, who printed some passages from it, has mistaken several words; and to this circumstance perhaps may be partly attributed the neglect it has hitherto received.*

It is the authority for the interesting account given by Stowe, and Holinshed, of the execution of Lord Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey, as well as for the greater part of their narrative of the progress of events whilst the council administered the government of the realm in the name of "JANE THE QUENE."

In the Harleian Catalogue it is stated, that "This book formerly belonged to Mr. John Stowe, who took from thence many passages which may be found in his Annals, at the reign of Queen Mary, and more yet remain by him untouched."

Mr. Tytler has remarked, "The account given by Holinshed of Northumberland's consent to lead the army, and of his speech to the nobles before leaving the Tower, is interesting, and has some fine touches which seem to stamp its authenticity." Holinshed says in

* The only modern author who has made any use of it is Sir Frederick Madden, who quoted a short passage in his Introduction to the Privy Purse accounts of Queen Mary.

his margin that it was derived "from the report of an eye-witness:" he really received it, through Stowe, from the present Diary.

Stowe affords us no intimation of the name of the writer, except that at one place, the account of the decapitation of Wyat, he has printed in his margin the name of

Row. Lea.

Rowland Lea was the name of a Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who died lord president of Wales in the year 1543: and the same baptismal name was very probably continued in his family.

That the diarist was a man of no mean condition may be inferred from the fact of his having been admitted to dine at the same table with the lady Jane Grey when in the Tower. The passage describing this incident, which is one of the most interesting in the book, has been unknown to all the lady Jane's biographers, although it was once printed, in the seventeenth century, by sir Simonds D'Ewes, who was then the owner of the manuscript.

It was in master Partridge's house that the lady Jane was lodged, and at his table that this memorable interview took place. Who was master Partridge? was he "Affabel Partriche," goldsmith to queen Mary, to whom the lord treasurer was directed by royal warrant* dated 25th July, 1554, to deliver certain jewels then remaining in the Tower? or in what other capacity had he a residence within that fortress?

But the more important question is, Who was his guest, whom we would now desire to commemorate as the sole chronicler of the Reign of Queen Jane? It may be supposed a person of higher rank or better education than Partridge, as he was invited to enter into familiar conversation with the illustrious prisoner. One of the sheets

* MS. Cotton. Titus B. iv. f. 130.

of paper which form his pocket-book had been previously used for another purpose, and retains this fragment of writing:

To the righ
Peckham
quenes ma
Yt maie please your good
as I have (as it is not v
vertue of the kinges ma
hande and previe Sign

This is *not* in the same handwriting as the Diary itself, but in the formal hand of a clerk. The person to whom it was addressed was doubtless sir Edmund Peckham, who was cofferer of the household at the death of Henry the eighth, who retained that office during the reign of Edward the sixth, and was afterwards treasurer of the mint to queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

That the diarist was not sir Edmund Peckham himself is shown by the passages in pp. 8 and 12, where the knight, in his capacity of sheriff of Oxfordshire, is mentioned as exerting himself on behalf of the lady Mary in that county, the news of which came to the writer in the Tower of London. But, again, an entry in p. 33 testifies the interest taken by the writer in sir Edmund Peckham's official preferment to be keeper of her majesty's treasure; and other passages in pp. 26, 82, 83, show his acquaintance with the affairs of the mint. It may therefore be conjectured that he was himself an officer of that department of the royal service, which was then conducted within the Tower of London; and if any such person bearing the name of "Rowland Lea" should hereafter be discovered, that name may be safely placed in the title-page.

The documents which form the appendices to this volume are for

the most part printed for the first time. Those which relate to the lady Jane's title to the crown are more carefully edited than before, on account of their very great importance, the only previous copy having been made for bishop Burnet, without that strict accuracy which is now thought desirable. For the privilege of making the present transcripts the Editor is indebted to the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple.

A recent visit to the State Paper Office has been rewarded by the discovery of the true history (given in the Addenda) of the last outbreak of the duke of Suffolk, which was the final cause of the sacrifice of his daughter's life.

The tract of John Elder, forming the Xth Appendix, is one nearly as rare as a manuscript. Its details of the early proceedings of the reign of queen Mary are the more valuable because the protestant chroniclers of the next reign abridged them very materially, in accordance with the altered spirit of the times; and the ecclesiastical historian Foxe describes the same transactions in different terms, as viewed in a totally different light.

In conclusion, the Editor may remark that there still remains inedited in the British Museum a valuable chronicle of this period from which he has made a quotation in Appendix IV. It was kept by one of the ancient faith who lingered about the dissolved house of the Grey Friars in London. As respects religious matters its contents are of much interest, and he looks forward to its being regarded by the Camden Society as an appropriate sequel to the two he has now had the pleasure to present to their perusal.

Parliament Street,
April 3, 1850.

THE CHRONICLE OF QUEEN JANE

AND

OF TWO YEARS OF QUEEN MARY.

The MS. being now imperfect, as well as incorrectly bound up, its earliest portion in point of date commences in the midst of a passage relating to the Duke of Northumberland's preparations to march against the lady Mary on the 13th of July, which Stowe has extracted. A few introductory paragraphs from Stowe, which were probably taken by that chronicler, either in whole or in part, from our MS., will render the course of events distinct from the time of king Edward's death:

KING EDWARD died at Greenwich, on the 6th July 1553, "towards night."[a] The event was kept perfectly secret during the next day;[b] but measures were taken to occupy and fortify the Tower of Lon-

[a] Letter of the council to sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the emperor, printed in Strype's Memorials, 1721, ii. 430. It was not written until the 8th of the month, and is silent regarding the successor to the throne. Mary, in her letter to the lords of the council, dated from Kenynghall on the 9th of July (printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments), also states that she had learned from some advertisement that the king her brother had died on Thursday (the 6th) at night last past.

[b] Northumberland's intention was to keep the death of the king a secret, until he should have obtained possession of the person of the lady Mary, who had been summoned to visit her brother, and was at no further distance from London than the royal manor of Hunsdon in Hertfordshire. But there were not wanting about the court those who from attachment to Mary, or from self-interest, ventured to incur the hazard of conveying to her this momentous intelligence; whereupon she immediately took alarm, and rode off towards the eastern coast, from which she might have escaped to the continent, had such a step become necessary. Many writers assert that it was the earl of Arundel who made a private communication to her. I have not found any contemporary authority for this statement; but sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in his poetical autobiography (MS. Cole, vol.

don.[a] On "the 8. of July the lord maior of London was sent for to the court then at Greenwich, to bring with him sixe aldermen, as many merchants of the staple, and as many merchant adventurers, unto whom by the Councell was secretly declared the death of king Edward, and also how hee did ordaine for the succession of the Crowne by his letters pattents, to the which they were sworne, and charged to keep it secret."[b]

xl. p. 272, verses 111, 112, 113, 114), claims the credit of having been the officious person. He had been a favourite servant of king Edward; and on his royal master's death,

"Mourning, from Greenwich I didd strayt departe
To London, to an house which bore our name.
My bretheren guessed by my heavie hearte
The King was dead, and I confess'd the same:
The hushing of his death I didd unfolde,
Their meaninge to proclaime queene Jane I tolde.

And, though I lik'd not the religion
Which all her life queene Marye hadd profest,
Yett in my mind that wicked motion
Right heires for to displace I did detest.
Causeless to proffer any injurie,
I meant it not, but sought for remedie.

Wherefore from four of us the newes was sent,
How that her brother hee was dead and gone;
In post her goldsmith then from London went,
By whome the message was dispatcht anon.
Shee asked, 'If wee knewe it certainlie?'
Whoe said, 'Sir Nicholas knew it verilie.'

The author bred the errand's greate mistrust:
Shee fear'd a traine to leade her to a trapp.
Shee saide, 'If Robert had beene there shee durst
Have gag'd her life, and hazarded the happ.'
Her letters made, shee knewe not what to doe:
Shee sent them oute, butt nott subscrib'd thereto."

By "Robert" the lady Mary meant sir Robert Throckmorton, one of the four brothers.

[a] See the Diary of Henry Machyn, p. 35.

[b] It appears most probable that this was the first intimation which the citizens had received of the existence of the letters patent: and that it was on this occasion that, being

The 10. of July, in the afternoone, about 3. of the clocke, lady Jane was convayed by water to the Tower of London, and there received as queene.[a] After five of the clocke, the same afternoone, was proclamation made of the death of king Edward the sixt, and how hee had ordained by his letters pattents bearing date the 21. of June last past [b] that the lady Jane should be heire to the Crowne of England, and the heire males of her body, &c.

The 12. of July word was brought to the Councell, being then at

"sworn to them," they affixed their signatures, although the document had been previously executed on the 21st of June. No fewer than thirty-two signatures follow that of the lord mayor, but the parties were perhaps not all citizens, and from the arrangement of their names in the existing transcript (mentioned in the following note [b]) it would be difficult to distinguish which were the aldermen, which the merchants of the staple, and which the merchant adventurers.

[a] Dr. Peter Heylyn, in his History of the Reformation, fol. 1674, p. 159, has described the interview supposed to have taken place between the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk and their daughter the lady Jane, when they waited upon her on the morning of the 10th of July, and then first made known to her the fatal diadem to which she was destined. The scruples of the gentle heiress were overcome with much difficulty, and the whole course of argument, *pro et contra*, is stated at considerable length. I believe, however, that this is only one of those dramatic scenes in which historical writers formerly considered themselves justified in indulging, as I have not been able to trace it to any earlier authority. Its *verisimilitude* may indeed be justified by the passage of the duke of Northumberland's speech recorded by our present chronicler (p. 6), "Who, by your and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein, than by her own seeking and request." However, having been adopted by the writer of the Life of Lady Jane Grey in the Biographia Britannica, it is followed as authentic history by many subsequent writers. The more recent authors (including sir Harris Nicolas, Mr. P. F. Tytler, and Mr. Aungier the historian of Syon-house and Isleworth) have placed the scene of this interview at Syon; but Heylyn himself fixed it at Durham-house in the Strand: which was the duke of Northumberland's town mansion, and where the lady Jane's marriage had been celebrated only a few weeks before. Here Heylyn might well suppose she would be lodged at this critical period of her father-in-law's conspiracy. The fact, however, seems to have been otherwise. In the chronicle of the Grey Friars (which will be found in the Appendix) she is stated to have come down the river from Richmond to Westminster, and so to the Tower of London. If, then, she was supposed to have come from Richmond, she may very well have come from Syon, which was also at this time in the hands of the duke of Northumberland.

[b] Scarcely any of our historical writers show an acquaintance with these letters patent, though they have been conversant with the substance of them from the recital which is made

the Tower with the lady Jane, that the lady Mary was at Keninghall castle in Norfolk, and with her the earle of Bath, sir Thomas Wharton sonne to the lord Wharton, sir John Mordaunt sonne to

in queen Jane's proclamation. A copy of the letters patent exists among Ralph Starkey's collections in the Harl. MS. 35, bearing this attestation: "This is a true coppie of Edward the Sixte his Will [this terme is misapplied], takene out of the originall undere the greate seale, which sir Robart Cottone delyvered to the King's Matie the xij^th of Apprill 1611 at Roystorne to be canseled." From this source the document is printed, in connection with the lady Jane's trial, in Cobbett's State Trials; and Mr. Howard, in his Lady Jane Grey and her Times, pp. 213-216, has described its contents.

It is set forth in these letters patent that the king intended to complete this settlement of the crown by making a will, and by act of Parliament: thus following the precedent of his father Henry the Eighth's settlement, which this was to supersede (see an essay by the present writer in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 464). But the rapid termination of king Edward's illness prevented these final acts of ratification; and Northumberland, in consequence, could only rely upon the validity of the letters patent, which had passed the great seal upon the 21st of June.

There are, besides the letters patent, two other documents extant, marking the earlier stages of this bold attempt to divert the succession.

1. The king's "own devise touching the said succession." This was "first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied owt in his Majesties presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his Majesties owne hand, and by his highnes delivered to certain judges and other learned men to be written in full order." It was written in six paragraphs, to each of which Edward attached his signature. Burnet has printed the whole in his History of the Reformation, Documents, book iv. no. 10, from the MSS. of Mr. William Petyt, now in the Inner Temple Library. Strype, in the Appendix to his Life of Cranmer, has printed the first four clauses only, from the same manuscript, the fifth and sixth having, as Burnet remarks, been erased with a pen, but not so as to render them illegible—nor was it intended to cancel them, for they are followed in the letters patent.

2. An instrument of the Council, undated, but signed at the head by the King, and at its close by twenty-four councillors, &c. in which they "promise by their oaths and honors to observe, fully perform, and keep all and every article, branch, and matter contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others." This also is printed both by Burnet and Strype.

Besides these documents, three very important papers in reference to this transaction are, 1. the narrative of chief justice Montagu, printed in Fuller's Church History; 2. sir William Cecill's submission to queen Mary, printed in Howard's Lady Jane Grey and Tytler's Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary; and 3. his servant Alford's statement as to Cecill's conduct at this crisis, written in 1573, and printed in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 347.

the lord Mordaunt, sir William Drury,[a] sir John Shelton, sir Henry Bedingfield, master Henry Jerningham, master John Sulierde, master Richard Freston, master sergeant Morgan, master Clement Higham of Lincolnes inne, and divers others; and also that the earle of Sussex and master Henry Ratcliffe his sonne were comming towards her: whereupon by speedy councell it was there concluded, that the duke of Suffolk, with certaine other noblemen, should goe towards the lady Mary, to fetch her up to London. This was first determined; but by night of the same day the said voyage of the duke of Suffolke was cleane dissolved by the speciall meanes of the lady Jane his daughter, who, taking the matter heavily, with weeping teares made request to the whole councell that her father might tarry at home in her company: whereupon the councell perswaded with the duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon him, saying that no man was so fit therefor, because that he had atchieved the victory in Norfolke once already,[b] and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift up their weapon against him: besides that, he was the best man of warre in the realme; as well for the ordering of his campes and souldiers both in battell and in their tents, as also by experience, knowledge, and wisedome, he could animate his army with witty perswasions, and also pacifie and alay his enemies pride with his stout courage, or else to disswade them if nede were from their enterprise. "Well (quoth the duke then) since ye thinke it good, I and mine will goe, not doubting of your fidelity to the quenes majestie, which I leave in your custodie." So that night hee sent for both lords, knights, and other that should goe with him, and caused all things to be prepared accordingly. Then went the coun-

[a] Sir William Drury, for his services "at Framlingham," received, by patent dated the 1st Nov. following, an annuity of 100 marks: see it printed in Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 352. A like annuity of 200 marks was granted on the 14th Nov. to Thomas West lord la Warre for his services against the duke (ibid. p. 352); one of 100*l.* on the 4th Dec. to sir Richard Southwell (ibid. p. 355); and one of 50*l.* on the 10th Feb. to Francis Purefay for his services at Framlingham (ibid. p. 365). Probably many others, unnoticed by Rymer, are recorded on the Patent Rolls.

[b] In the suppression of Kett's rebellion.

cell in to the lady Jane and told her of their conclusion, who humbly thanked the duke for reserving her father at home, and beseeched him to use his diligence, whereto he answered that hee would doe what in him lay.

The morrow following great preparation was made. The duke early in the morning called [a for all his owne harnes, and sawe yt made redy. At Duram Place he apoynted all the retenue to mete. The same day cartes were laden with munytion, and artyllery and felde peces prepared for the purpose. The same forenoone he moved eftesones the counsell to sende theire powers after him, as yt was before determyned, which should have met him at Newmarket, and they promysed him they wolde. He saide further to some of them, "My lordes, I and theis other noble personages, and the hole army, that nowe go furthe, aswell for the behalfe of you and yours as for the establishing of the quenes highnes, shall not onely adventer our bodyes and lives amongest the bludy strokes and cruell assaltes of our adversaryes in the open feldes, but also we do leave the conservacion of our selves, children, and famellies at home here with you, as altogether comytted to your truths and fydellyties, whom if we thought you wolde through malice, conspiracie, or discentyon leave us your frendes in the breers and betray us, we coulde aswell sondery waies foresee and provide for our owne savegardes as eny of you by betraying us can do for youres. But now upon the onely truste and faythefullnes of your honnours, wherof we thincke ourselves moste assured, we do hassarde and jubarde our lives, which trust and promise yf ye shall violate, hoping therby of life and promotyon, yet shall not God counte you innocent of our bloodes, neither acquite you of the sacred and holley othe of allegiance made frely by you to this vertuouse lady the quenes highenes, who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therin then by hir owne seking and request. Consider also that Goddes cause, which is the

[a Here commences our Manuscript, at f. 31 of the Harleian volume No. 194, as now incorrectly bound.

preferment of his worde and the feare of papestry's re-entrance, hathe been as ye have herebefore allwaies layed,[a] the oryginall grounde wherupon ye even at the first motyon granted your goode willes and concentes therunto, as by your handes writinges evidentlie apperith. And thincke not the contrary, but if ye meane deceat, thoughe not furthwith yet hereafter, God will revenge the same. I can saie no more; but in theis troblesome tyme wishe you to use constaunte hartes, abandoning all malice, envy, and privat affections."

Therewith-all the first course for the lordes came uppe. Then the duke did knit uppe his talke with theis words: "I have not spoken to you on this sorte upon any distrust I have of your truthes, of the which allwaies I have ever hitherto conceaved a trusty confidence; but I have put you in remembrance therof, what chaunce of variaunce soever might growe emongest you in myne absence; and this I praye you, wishe me no worse goode spede in this journey then ye wolde have to yourselves." "My lorde, (saith one of them,) yf ye mistrust eny of us in this matter, your grace is far deceaved; for which of us can wipe his handes clene therof? And if we should shrincke from you as one that were culpable, which of us can excuse himself as guiltles? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre cast." "I praie God yt be so (quod the duke); let us go to dyner." And so they satt downe.

After the dyner the duke went into the quene, wher his comyssion was by that tyme sealed for his liefetenantship of the armye, and ther he tooke his leave of hir; and so dyd certayn other lordes also. Then, as the duke cam thoroughe the counsayle chamber, he tooke his leave of the erle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace; saying he was very sory yt was not his chaunce to go with him and beare him companye, in whose presence he coulde fynde in his harte to spende his bloode, even at his foote. Then my lorde of Arundell tooke also my lordes boy Thomas Lovell by the hande, and saide, "Farewell, gentyll Thomas, with all my harte." Then the

[a] *i. e.* alleged; *printed* said *in Stowe.*

duke cam downe, and the lorde marques,[a] my lorde Grey, with diverse other, and went out of the Tower and tooke their boote and went to Dyrrame Place or Whithall, wher that night they musteryd their company in harnes, and the next day in the morning the duke departed, to the nomber of vj^{C} men or theraboutes. And as they went thoroughe Shordyshe, saieth the duke to one that rid by him,[b] "The people prece[c] to se us, but not one sayeth God spede us."

By this tyme worde was broughte to the quene at the Tower that sir Edmonde Peckham, sir Edward Hastings, and the lorde Windsore, with others, were upp proclayming quene Mary in Buckinghamshire.[d]

Note, thisse daie also sir John Gates went oute. The morowe followinge ther was sent after the duke the cartes with munytion and the ordenance.

The xijth daie the lady Mary sent to Norwich to be proclaymed, but they wolde not, because they were not certeyn of the kinges death; but within a daye after they dyd not only proclayme hir, but also sent men and weapons to ayde hir.

The xiijth daie ther cam dyverse gentyllmen with ther powers to quene Maries suckour.

About this tyme or therabouts the vj. shippes that were sent to lie befor Yarmothe, that if she had fled to have taken hir, was by force of wether dreven into the haven, w(h)er about that quarters one maister Gerningham was raysing power on quene Maryes behalfe, and hering therof came thether. Wherupon the captaynes toke a bote and went to their shipes. Then the marynours axed maister Gernyngham what he wolde have, and wether he wolde have their captaynes or no; and he said, "Yea, mary." Saide they, "Ye shall have theym, or els we shall throwe theym to the bottom of the sea." The captaynes, seing this perplexity, saide furthwith they wolde serve quene Mary gladlie; and so cam fourthe with their men, and

[a] The marquess of Northampton.

[b] *Stowe has altered this to* the lord Grey. [c] p[illegible] *in Stowe.*

[d] See the commissions addressed to several commanders to suppress the rebellion in Buckinghamshire, in the Catalogue of State Papers of the reign of queen Jane in the Appendix.

convayed certeyn great ordenaunce; of the which comyng in of the shipes the lady Mary and hir company were wonderfull joyous, and then afterwarde doubted smaly the duke's puisance. And as the comyng of the shipes moche rejoyced quene Mary's party, even so was it as great a hart-sore to the duke, and all his campe, whose hartes wer all-redy bent agaynst him. But after once the submyssyon of the shipes was knowne in the Tower [a] eche man then began to pluck in his hornes; and, over that, worde of a greater mischief was brought to the Tower—the noblemen's tenauntes refused to serve their lordes agaynst quene Mary. The duke he thought long for his succours, and writ somewhat sharplie to the counsayll here in that behalfe, aswell for lacke of men as munytion: but a slender answer he had agayn.

By this tyme newes was brought that sir John Williams was also proclamyng quene Mary in Oxfordeshire. From that tyme forwarde certayne of the counsayll, that is, the erle of Penbroke and the lorde warden,[b] sought to go out of the Tower to consult in London, but could not as yet.

The xvjth daye of July the lorde highe treasurer [c] was going to his howse in London at night, and about vij. of the clocke the gates of the Tower upon a sudden was shut, and the keyes caryed upp to the quene Jane; but what the cause was I knowe not. The noyes in the Tower was that ther was a seale lackinge; but many men thought they surmysed that but the truthe was she feared some packinge in the lorde treasurer, and so they dyd fetch him at xij. of the clocke in the night from his house in London into the Tower.

The xviij. daye the duke, perceaving howe their succours came not, and also receyving from some of the counsell at the Tower lettres of discomfort, retourned from Bury, and came back agayn to Cambridge.

[a] This passage, together with those that follow, shows that the Chronicler was still writing in the Tower of London.

[b] Thomas lord Cheney.

[c] The marquess of Winchester.

Note here, the xix[th] day at night he harde howe that quene Mary was proclaymed in London.[a] And the next morning he called for a herolde and proclaymed hir himself.[b] Within an hower after he had lettres[c] from the counsell here that he should forthwith dismysse his armye, and not to come within x. myles of London, or els they wolde fight with him. The rumour hereof was no sooner abrode but every man departyd. Then was the duke arested, by the mayre of the towne of Cambridge some say, some say by mr. Thomas Myldemay at the quenes commandement.[d] At last cam lettres from the counsell of London that all men shoulde go eche his waye. Then saide the duke to certayn that kepte him, "Ye do me wrong to withdrawe my libertye; se you not the counselles lettres, without exception, that all men should go whether they wolde?" At which wordes they than sett them agayn at libertye, and so contynued they all night; in so moche that the erle of Warwicke was booted redy to have ryden in the mornynge. Then came the erle of Arundell, who had ben with the quene, to the duke into his chamber; and when the duke knewe therof he came out to mete him; and assone as ever he sawe the erle of Arundell he fell downe on his knees and desyred him to be goode to him, for the love of God. "And consider (saith he) I have done nothing but by the concentes of you and all the hole counsell." "My lorde (quod he), I am sent hether by the quenes majestie, and in hir name I do arest you." "And I obey it, my lorde (quod he), and I beseeche you, my lorde of Arundell (quod the duke), use mercy towardes me, knowing the case as yt is." "My lorde (quod the erle), ye shoulde have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandement." And therwith he commytted the charge of him to diverse of the garde and gentyllmen that stoode by. And so

[a] See the next page.

[b] "And among other he threw up his cap." The marquess of Northampton was also present. Stowe.

[c] These letters are printed in Stowe's Chronicle.

[d] Stowe says, "The duke was arrested in the Kinges college by one maister Slegge, sergeant at armes,"—in correction, evidently, of the present writer. Mr. Cooper, in his Annals of Cambridge, adds a note, "Roger Slegge, after an alderman of this town."

the duke contynued walking up and downe in the utter chamber almost ij howers; and once or twyce he wolde have gone to the bedd-chamber about some busynes, but he coulde not be sufferyd. Then was Thome and Coxe from him.

At last the duke, loking throughe the window, spied the erle of Arundell passyd by; then he called to him, and said, "My lorde of Arundell; my lorde, I praye a worde with you." "What wolde ye have, my lorde?" sayde he. "I beseche your lordship," quod he, "for the love of God, let me have Coxe, one of my chamber, to wayt on me." "You shall have Tome[a] your boy," quod the erle of Arundell. "Allas, my lorde!" quod the duke, "what stede can a boye do me? I pray you let me have Coxe;" and so both Tome and Coxe were with him.[b]

The next portion of this interesting narrative is unfortunately lost; but a series of extracts from news-letters, preserved in Ralph Starkey's Collections, MS. Harl. 353, pp. 139 et seq. apply so exactly to the period deficient, that they may be very properly here introduced.

By a lettre, writtene in London, it appeareth that "the 19 of July, my lady Maryes grace was in the afternoone proclaymed queene of England heare in Londone, my lord of Northumberland, the lord admirall,[c] the marques of Northampton, the lord of Huntington, my lord Grey, my lord of Westmerlande, and divers others, beinge at Cambridge, proceeding in battaile towards hir grace, who lyethe at a castle in Norfolk.[d] Great was the triumphe hear at London; for my tyme I never sawe the lyke, and by the reporte of others the like was never seene. The nomber of cappes that weare throwne upe at the proclamation weare not to be tould. The earle of Pembroke threwe awaye his cape full of angelletes. I sawe myselfe money was throwne out at windowes for joy. The bonefires weare without nomber, and

[a] Thomas Lovell, the boy before mentioned in p. 7.

[b] The duke was brought to the Tower of London by the earl of Arundel on the 25th of July; see Machyn's Diary, p. 37.

[c] Edward lord Clinton. [d] Framlingham.

what with showtynge and crienge of the people, and ringinge of the belles, theare could no one heare almoste what another sayd, besides banketyngs and synging in the streete for joye. Theare was presente at the proclamation the earle of Pembroke, the earle of Shrewsbury, the earle of Arundell, my lord warden, my lord mayere, sir John Mason, sir John Cheeke, and divers other to the nomber of ...; and, after the proclamation made in Cheapside, they all went to Poules to evensonge. The duke of Suffolk being at the Towere[a] at the makinge of the proclamation, and as some saye did not knowe of it, but so soone as he herd of it, he came himselfe out of the Towere, and comaunded his men to leave their wepones behinde them, sayenge that hee him selfe was but one man, and himselfe proclaymed my lady Maryes grace queene on the Towere hille, and so came into London, levinge the leiftenaunt in the Towere.

"Greate stire was in Northamptonshire about proclayminge of hir. Yesterday at Northampton sir Thomas Treshame proclaymed hir with the ayd and helpe of the towne, beinge borne amongeste them, whether he would or not; ser Nicholas Throgmorton beinge presente, withstandinge him to his powere, was drivene for safetye of his lyfe to take a howse, and so beinge borne amongeste divers gentlemen escaped with much adoe; the inhabitants would have killed him veri fayne.

"Sir Robarte Tirwite mustered yesterdaye in Northamptonshire to goe to my lord of Northumberland as many men as he could gette. Sir Thomas Tresham, receving like letters to muster for my lord of Northumberlande, would not goe. Sir John Williams hathe 6 or 7000 men thear, as Richard Silliard saythe, and thear is with him sir Edmonde Peckham, the sherive of Oxfordshire, the sherive of Northamptonshire, and divers others.

[a] The party of the Council which made the Proclamation had left the Tower on the plea of giving audience to the French ambassador at Baynard's Castle. The earl of Arundel is represented as having been the chief instigator of this revolution, and a long address which he made to the assembled lords on the occasion is given in his Life by one of his chaplains, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1833, vol. CIII. ii. 119.

"Sir John Gates and my lord Garret, who went downe with the garde to my lady Mary, as is crediblie reported, are both slayne,[a] and the moste parte of the garde gone to my lady Mary."

23 July 1553.—A lettere written in London mentiones that the lord admirall, and the lords Greye,[b] Garret, Wormon,[c] and the lord Fitzwarren, sir Henry Sidney, and sir James Croffts, with divers others, have already their pardon graunted them.

"The duke of Northumberland is in custody of the garde as a prisoner in Cambridge, and my ladie his wyfe, the lord Guilford, and the lady Jane, are in the Towere as prisoneres. My lord marques of Northampton, the earle of Huntingdon, sir Henry Gates, and divers other, cannot as yet gett their pardones."

From London, 1 Aug. 1553.—"Sir John Cheeke, with diveres others, whos names presently I cannot remember, be prisoners in the Towere.

"The lady Elizabethes grace came the 29. of July to Somerset place, well accompanyed with gentlemen, and others, righte strongly, and theare she rested a nighte, and the morowe ensuinge she went throwghe Cheapside to meete the queenes grace to London-wardes, who is loked for the 3. or 4. of Auguste.

"Sethence the 24. of July, 6 of youre men[d] on horsbacke like souldieres, in coats of red and white, at youre cost and charges, have waited on sir Thomas Tresham and sir Nicholas Throgmorton, to guarde the queen to London."

[a] This report was untrue.

[b] William lord Grey of Wilton was the commander upon whose military talents the duke of Northumberland seems to have mainly relied: but lord Grey, who had been an adherent of the duke of Somerset, probably did not serve on this occasion very cordially. He seems to have left Northumberland when at Cambridge, and made his submission to Mary; who on her arrival at her manor of Newhall in Essex, on the 31st of July, dismissed him to his former charge of the castle of Guisnes, with a reinforcement of 350 footmen and 50 horsemen demi-lances: see her letters patent, printed in the Appendix to the Life of Lord Grey of Wilton, No. VI.

[c] The earl of Ormond.

[d] The name of the person to whom the letter is addressed is not preserved.

August, 1553.—"By a lettere[a] written in London, reporteth that queene Maries grace came to London the 3 daye of August, beinge broughte in with her nobles verie honorably and strongly. The nomber of velvet coats that did ride before hir, aswell strangeres as otheres, was 740; and the nomber of ladyes and gentlemen that folowede was 180. The earle of Arundell did ride next before hir, bearinge the sworde in his hand, and sir Anthony Browne did beare up hir trayne. The lady Elizabethe did follow hir nexte, and after hir the lord marques of Exeter's wyfe.[b]

"The gard followed the ladyes, and after them Northampton and Oxfordshire men, and then Buckinghamshire men, and after them the lordes' servants; the whole nomber of horsemen weare esteemed to be about 10,000.

"The queenes grace stayed at Allgate-streete before the stage wheare the poore children stood, and hard an oration that one of them made, but she sayd nothinge to them.

"My lord mayor and the aldermen brought hir grace into the city, my lord mayor riding next to the earle of Arundell with the mace in his hand. Theare was a greate peale of ordenance shotte of at the Towere.

"It is credibly reported that the duke of Norfolke, Courteney, the bushope of Winchester,[c] and my lady Somerset,[d] mette the queenes grace at the Towere gate, and theare they kneelinge downe saluted her grace, and she came unto them and kissed them and sayd, 'Theis are my prisoners.' Courteney was made marques of Exeter, the 4. of thes present, as the brute goethe.[e]

"Hir grace intendethe to remove unto Windsor on Tuesdaye nexte, as I heare saye.

[a] Of this letter Stowe must have had a copy, as its words are followed in his account of the queen's entry in London.

[b] Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, daughter of William Blount lord Mountjoy, and mother of Edward earl of Devonshire.

[c] Stephen Gardiner.

[d] Anne, widow of the Protector.

[e] This report was premature; he was created earl of Devonshire (only), on the 1st of September.

"The earle of Pembroke was comaunded to waite uppon hir grace when she came to London, and to bringe with him but x. mene, and as I heare saye he broughte xv., whearfore he had a rebuke. Some saye he is fled, but the truthe I knowe not; hee hathe not byne seene since thursdaye night, nether can his men tell whear he is. My lord Russell and my lord Ferrars are in the sherife of London's custody.

"Mr. chauncelere of the augmentations[a] dothe keepe his house.

"I hard saye this daye that the duke of Northumberland, the marques of Northampton, the earle of Huntingdon, sir John Gates, and Mr. Palmer, wear alredie condemned to dye.

"Dob of Bosat[b] came (out) of Bedfordshire this daye, and he tould me theare came this weeke to sir John St. John's,[c] he beinge theare, 40 or 50 men with clubes and bylles, and would have had him to have gone with them to have pulled downe certene pasture hedges, but hee denyed them, and persuaded them as muche as he could to the contrary; yet notwithstandinge they would not be persuaded, but wente themselves and pulled up the hedges of 43 pastures.

"Youre men were not discharged before yesterdaye of the queenes attendance, and this daye they are gone home.

"The oulde bushope of London[d] is delivered out of the Marshalsey, and doctore Cox cometh into his place; and this daye my lord Ferrars is comitted to the Towere."

11 August, 1553.—The duke of Norfolke is discharged and at liberty, as appeareth by a letter writtene in London.

"The bushope of Winchester hathe his howse[e] againe that the marques of Northampton had.

"The lord chamberlen,[f] the lord tresorer,[g] and the earl of Pembroke, are commanded to keepe their howses.

[a] Sir John Baker.
[b] Probably Leighton Bosard.
[c] At Bletsoe.
[d] Edmund Bonner.
[e] Winchester house, Southwark.
[f] Thomas lord Darcy.
[g] William Paulet, marquess of Winchester.

"It was expected that divers prisoners with the duke of Northumberland should have come to the yeld hall this daye to have byne araigned, but it is not so.

"The duke of Suffolke is (as his owne men report) in prisone, and at this present in suche case as no man knoweth he can lyve.

"The bushope of Winchestere hathe sayd masse in the Towere since his comminge abroade.

"This daye an ould preeste sayd masse at St. Bartholmewes, but after that masse was done the people would have pulled him in peeces.

"The lady Somerset is discharged out of the Towere lately.

"The queenes grace removethe tomorowe, it is reported."

---

* The 18. of August, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, William Parre, marquesse of Northampton, and John earle of Warwicke, sonne and heire to the duke, were arraigned at Westminster-hall, before Thomas duke of Norfolke, high steward of England, where the duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the judges, protested his faith and alleageance to the queene, whom hee confessed grievously to have offended, and said that he meant not anything in defence of his fact, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two poynts: first, whether a man doing any act by authority of the prince's councell, and by warrant of the great seale of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing which hee might doe by warrant thereof? Secondly, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commaundements hee was directed in all his doinges, might be his judges, or passe upon his tryall as his peeres?

Whereunto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great seale (which hee layd for his warrant) was not the seale of the law-

* The two preceding paragraphs, relating to the duke of Northumberland's trial, are supplied from Stowe's Chronicle.

full queene of the realme, nor passed by authority, but the seale of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him.[a] As to the second, it was alleged, that if any were as deepely to be touched in the case as himselfe, yet so long as no attainder were of record against them, they were neverthelesse persons able in law to passe upon any tryall, and not to be chalenged therefor, but at the prince's pleasure." After which answer, the duke used few words, but confessed the indictment; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him did the like,[b] and thereupon had judgement.]

[c]And when the judgement was geven, it is saide the duke shoulde saie, "I beseche you, my lordes all, to be humble suters to the quenes majestie, to graunt me iiij. requestes, which are theis: firste, that I may have that deathe which noblemen have had in tymes past, and not the other; secondarylie, that her majestie wilbe gratyous to my chillder, which may hereafter do hir grace gode service, concydering that they went by my commaundement who am their father, and not of their owne free willes; thirdely, that I may have appoynted to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my concyence; and iiijth, that she will sende ij. of the counsayle to comon with me, to whom I will declare suche mattyers as shalbe expedyent for hir and the comonwealthe. And thus I beseche you all to pray for me."

[a] "In this pertinent question (remarks Mr. Tytler, vol. ii. p. 224), Northumberland evidently, I think, alluded to the commands of Edward the Sixth, and the warrant under the Great Seal of England affixed to his will. Yet it is strange that all our historians,—Carte, Hume, Lingard, Macintosh—misunderstood the question, and suppose with the judges (who seem purposely to have evaded Northumberland's meaning,) that his allusion was to the great seal of queen Jane. .... The judges, as I have said, purposely mistook and evaded Northumberland's meaning." Mr. Tytler has not seen further than his predecessors, and it is he that is mistaken. The great seal to which Northumberland appealed, was not that affixed to the will or act of settlement; but it was that attached, by authority of queen Jane, to his commission of lieutenancy of the army, which has been mentioned (in p. 7) as sealed by the time the lords of the council had finished their dinner on the 14th of July. On this commission, under the great seal, he rested the justification of his having proceeded in arms against the lady Mary.

[b] See the pleas of the marquess of Northampton and earl of Warwick in the Appendix.

[c] MS. f. 49.

Note, that on saterdaye the xix^th^ of August ther was conveyed out of the Tower by water to Westminster, to be araygned, sir John Gates, sir Herry Gates, sir Androwe Dudley, and sir Thomas Pallmer, where, without any queste, every one of theym pleaded giltye, saving sir Thomas Pallmer, who saide that the truthe was, he never bare armes agaynst the quenes majesty. "Well," saithe the judges, "can ye denye but that ye were ther?" "No," saithe he. "Then can it not be but that ye ar cullpable." "Well then, sithe it is so," saithe he, "I confesse the same." Then they all submytted themselves to the quenes mercy. Then the judges proceded in judgemente.

Note, that on sondaye the xx^th^ day of August, ther preched at Poles crosse one doctour Watson,[a] and ther was about the crosse and in the churche-yarde allmost all the garde, with their billes and weapons, for feare of like tumult that was on sonday before.

Note, on mondaye the xxj^st^ of August, it was appoynted the duke with other shoulde have suffered, and all the garde were at the Tower; but howe soever it chaunced he did not; but he desired to here masse, and to receave the sacrement, according to the olde accustumed maner. So about ix. of the clocke the alter in the chappell was arraied, and eche thing prepared for the purpose; then mr. Gage[b] went and fetched the duke; and sir John Abridges[c] and mr. John Abridges dyd fetche the marques of Northampton, sir Androwe Dudley, sir Herry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, to masse, which was sayde both with elevation over the hed, the paxe geving, blessinge, and crossinge on the crowne, breathinge, towrninge aboute, and all the other rytes and accydentes of olde tyme appertayning. And when the tyme came the prysoners shoulde receive the sacrement, the duke tourned himself to the people and saide, first, theis wordes, or suche like, "My masters, I lett you all to understande that I do most faithfullie belyve this is the very right and true waie, oute of

[a] See a full account of this sermon in the notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 332.

[b] Sir John Gage, the constable of the Tower.

[c] The lieutenant.

the which true religion you and I have ben seduced theis xvj. yeres past, by the false and eronyous preching of the new prechers, the which is the onelie cause of the greate plagges and vengeaunce which hathe lighte apon the hole realme of Inglande, and nowe likewise worthelly falne apon me and others here presente for our unfaythfulnesse. And I do beleve the holye sacremente here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redemer Jesus Christe; and this I praye you all to testifye, and praye for me."

After which wordes he kneeled down and axed all men forgevenes, and likewise forgave all men. Emongest others standing by (were) the duke of Somersetes sonnes. Then all the rest confessed the declaration aforesaide, and so receved the sacrement most humbly. Note, that a littell before masse was begonne, ther was sent for into London for diverse of the best comoners and comon counsaill of the cytie, to come and here the convertion of the duke, emongest whom one Hartop a goldesmith, and one Baskerfeld, were there.[a]

The lady Jane loking throughe the windowe sawe the duke and the rest going to the churche. Note, that this daie xliiij. yeres past, Dudley, the duke's father, was behedded.[b]

On tuisdaie the xxijth of Auguste thir came into the Tower all the garde, with their wepons, and aboute ix. of the clocke the erle of Warwicke and sir John Gates were brought to the chappell and herde masse, receiving the sacrement. A lityll before the receyte wherof, they kneling before the alter, one doctour Boureman, which saide the masse, turned to theym from the alter, and saied theis

[a] "On Mondaye laste the duke of Northumberland, the marques of Northampton, sir John Gates, and others, hard masse verie devoutely in the Towere, and thear receaved the sacrament, even as they weare wonte 40 yeares agoe. Divers marchants, to the nomber of 14 or 15, were by the counsell comaunded to come to the queenes chappell, and theare tarry tyll masse was don; Mr. Thomas Locke was one; Mr. Clemente Newse, and divers other in Cheapsyde." Letter of William Dalby, 22 Aug. 1553, in Ralph Starkey's collections, MS. Harl. 353.

[b] John Stowe has here added these words to the MS.: *no ye yere* 1501. *y^{e}* 18. *of Auguste.* He has himself, in his Chronicle, described Dudley's execution as having taken place on the 17th August 1510.

wordes, or moche like, "And if ye do require to receive this holie sacrement of the body and blud of our savyour Christ, ye must not onelie confesse and beleve that he is ther reallie and naturally, very God and very man, yea the same God that died on the crosse for our redemption, and not a phantasticall God, as the heretykes wolde make him; but also ye must here openlie acknowledg and graunt your abuse and errour therin of long tyme had and don; and then I assure you ye shall receyve him to your salvacion, were ye never so detestable an offendour." Then said sir John Gates, "I confesse we have ben out of the waie a long tyme, and therfore we are wourthellie punished; and, being sory therfore, I axe God forgevnes therfore most humblie; and this is the true religion." In moche like sorte said the erle of Warwicke; and then one axed the other forgevenes, and required al men to forgeve theym as they forgave every man frelie.

Then tourned mr. Gates to the lorde Courtney, saying, "I besiche you, sir, to forgeve me, for I have ben a pece of the cause of your contynuaunce in prison, not for eny hatred towardes you, but for feare that harm might come therby to my late younge maister." Then my lorde of Warwike axed him likewise forgevenes. (Memorandum, the duke of Somersettes sonnes stode by.) Then saide the preste to theyme, "I wolde ye should not be ignoraunt of God's mercy, which is infynyt; and lett not death feare you, for it is but a litell while, ywis, ended in one half hower. What shall I saie? I trust to God it shalbe to you a short passag (though somwhat sharpe), out of innumerable myseries into a most pleasaunt rest; which God graunt." The preist having spoken theis or moche like wordes, gave theym the host, whych being fynyshed, and the masse ended, they came fourthe agayne; and the erle of Warwicke was ledd to his lodging, and sir John Gates to the levetenauntes howse, where he remayned about half an hower and more. In thys meane tyme was sir Thomas Palmer brought into the levetenauntes garden, wher he walked with Watson, his gostlie father, aboute iij quarters of an hower, taking acquayntance

of diverse gentyllmen, alwaies praying theym to forgeve and pray for him. His countenaunce never changed, but rather he semed more cherefull in countenaunce then when he was most at his libertye in his life-tyme. Anon, the sherive and sir John Gadge had made redy the indentures; then was sir John Gates brout out of the levetenauntes house, and sett at the garden gate; then the(y) went for the duke, who within a littell while cam fourthe, and sir Thomas Palmer after him; and at the garden gate the duke and sir John Gates mett and spake together. "Sir John," saieth the duke, "God have mercy upon us, for this daie shall ende bothe our lives. And I praye you forgeve me whatsoever I have offended; and I forgeve you with all my harte, althoughe you and your counsaill was a great occasion herof." "Well, my lorde," saithe sir John Gates, "I forgive you as I wolde be forgeven; and yet you and your auctoritye was the onely originall cause of all together; but the Lorde pardon you, and I praie you forgeve me." So, ether making obeasaunce to other, the duke proceded. The duke of Somerset's sonnes stoode therby.

And when he came apon the scaffolde, first, he put of his gowne of crane-colored damaske, and then he leaned apon the raile towarde the est, and saide to the people, allmost in every poynt as he had saide in the chapell,[a] saving that when he came to the confession of

[a] "This present daye the duke of Northumberlande, sir John Gates, and master Palmere, came to executione, and suffered deathe. The duke's confessyon was in effecte but lytle, as I hard saye; hee confessed himselfe worthie to dye, and that he was a greate helper in of this religion which is false, thearfore God had punished us with the lose of kinge Henry 8, and also with the lose of king Edward 6, then with rebellione, and aftere with the swetinge sicknes, and yet we would not turne. Requiringe them all that weare presente to remember the ould learninge, thankinge God that he would vutsafe to call him nowe to be a Christyane, for this 16 yeares he had byne non. Theare weare a greate nomber turned with his words. He wished every man not to be covetous, for that was a greate parte of his distruction. He was asked further yf he had any thinge moare to saye, and he said nothinge but that he was worthie to dye, and so was moe than he, but he cam to dye, and not to accuse any mane. And thus bouldly he spak, tyll he layd his head on the block." (Letter of William Dalby, as before cited.) Another account of the duke of Northumberland's confession, from the MS. Harl. 284, is printed in Bayley's History of the Tower of London, Appx. p. xlviii.; and by Tytler, vol. ii. p. 230, who refers to others in MS. Cotton, Titus, B II. in MS. Reg. 12 A 26 (in Latin), and an abstract in MS. Harl. 2194.

his belife he saide, "I trust, my lorde the bushope [a] here will beare me witnes hereof." At the last he put of his jerkyn and doblet, and then saide his prayers; after which tyme the hangman reched to him a kerchef, which he dyd knit himself about his ees, and then layd him downe, and so was behedded.

Afterwardes cam sir John Gates; and after a few wordes spoken [b] he would have no kerchef, but laed downe his hed; where at iij. blowes his hed was striken of.

Next cam sir Thomas Palmer,[c] who assoone as he cam to the

[a] Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester.

[b] Sir John Gates's confession, as stated in the MS. Harl. 284, is printed in the Appendix to Bayley's History of the Tower of London, p. xlix.

[c] "Then came sir Thomas Palmere, who when hee was upon the scaffold pute of his cape to the auditory and sayd: 'God geve you all good morowe,' and divers did byd him god morowe againe, and he replyed and sayd, 'I doe not doubt but that I have a good morowe, and shall have I truste a better good even. Good frends (quothe he) I am come hether to dye, for I have lyved heare under a lawe, and have offended the same, and for my so doinge the same lawe fyndethe me guilty, hathe condemned me to ende heare my lyfe this daye; for the which I give God thankes, in that he whichshewed me the thinge which I have seene, and which also I knowe to be juste and trewe, and that is this, I have since my cominge out of yonder place (pointing to the Towere) seene with myne eyes my Redeemere sittinge at the right hand of God the Father, in glory and majesty equall, whose powere is infinite, and in whome whoso puttethe his truste shall nevere be deceaved, and as he is almighty so can he doe what he lystethe, and to whom he wille, and when he will, and non in the heven above nor in the earthe beneathe can or maye let [*i. e.* withstand] his determinate will; by whom I lyve, by whom I am, and in whom I truste to lyve eternally. I have, as some of you doe knowe, good people, bine a man not altogether noreshid in England, but some parte of my brede I have eaten in other realmes; but to saye that befoare nowe I did [know] God arighte, the worlde arighte, or myselfe arighte, I did nevere. And nowe what I have sayde ye knowe. I saye God is such a one that without thowe wilt sit downe and behould the heavenes above, the sonne and moone, the starres above the firmament, the course of the sonne and moone, starres and clowds, the earthe with all that in them is, and howe they be all preserved, thow shalt nevere knowe God aright. The world is altogether vanity, for in it is nothinge but ambition, flatery, foolishe or vaine glory, pride, disorder, slander, bostinge, disdayne, hatred and mallis; all which thinges the same God that made the world, or as they saye man, which heare I compare to the world, dothe utterly deteste and abhor; in the which offences I have bine so noseled, that nowe, havinge a juste occasione to looke into myne owne selfe, I have seen nothing but a bodye voyde of all goodnes, filthie, a stinking karkas, worse then donge of beastes, a very miserable creature, and yet the verie worke of the mighti hand of God. But yet,

scaffolde toke every man by the hand, and desired them to praye for him; then putting of his gowne, he leaned upon the est raile and saide theis or moche-like wordes in effecte: "My maisters, God save you; yt is not unknowne unto you wherfore I am come hither, which I have wourthellie well deserved at God's hande, for I knowe yt to be his devine ordenaunce by this mean to call me to his mercy, and to teache me to knowe myself, what I am, and wherto we ar all subjecte. I thancke his mercyfull goodenes, for he hathe caused me to learne more in one littell darke corner in yonder Tower, then ever I learned by eny travaille in so many places as I have bene; for ther I say I have sene God, what he is, and howe unserchable his wonderouse works ar, and howe infynite his mercyes be. I have sene ther myself thorowhlie, and what I am; nothing but a lompe of synne, earthe, dust, and of all vylenes most vilest. I have seen ther and knowne what the hole worlde is, howe vayne, decetefull, transytorie, and short yt is; howe wicked and lothesome the works therof ar in the sight of God's majesty; how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mighty ones, nether despiseth the simplenes of the pore and lolie, which ar in the same worlde. Fynallie, I have seen ther what deathe is, howe nere hanging over every man's hed, and yet how uncertayn the tyme and howe unknowne to all men, and how littell it is to be feared. And shoulde I feare death, or be sad therfore? have I nott seene ij. die before myne eys, yea and within the hearing of myn eares? No, neither the sprinckling of the bludd or the shedding therof, nor the bludy axe itself, shall not make me afraied. And nowe, taking my leave to the same, I praye you all to praie for me. Come on, goode

notwithstandinge, in nowe knowinge my Creator arighte, I doe not thinke any sinne to be that I have not byne plunged even into the middeste of it; for the which prayinge God to pardon me, willinge you and prayinge you to praye for me and withe me unto the Lord my God and your God, which God I faithfully beleeve is in heaven, and at the laste daye shall with all triumphe come againe into this worlde, judginge the same by fyere. And nowe I will bide you all farwelle, prayenge you all to forgeve me, and to saye, the Lord receave me to his mercy, when you shall see the axe passe between my head and shoulders." And so did prepare him to the deathe." Letter written in London by John Rowe, 24 Aug. 1563, in Starkey's transcripts, MS. Harl. 353.

fellowe," quod he, "art thou he that must do the dede? I forgeve the with all my harte." And then kneled downe, and laed his hed downe, saying, "I will se howe met the blocke is for my neck; I praie the strike me not yet, for I have a fewe prayers to say, and that done, strike in God's name, goode leave have thowe." His prayers enden, and desyring eche man to praie for him, he layed downe his hed agayn, and so the hangman toke yt from him at one stroke. Theyr corpes, with the hedes, wer buryed in the chapell in the Tower; the duke at the highe alter, and the other too at the nether ende of the churche. You must understande that sir Thomas Pallmer had moche longer talke on the scaffolde, but that afore rehersed was in maner the some therof.

Note, that the [18th] daye of August ther was a proclamation[a] set out by the quenes highnes, that she willed all men to embrace that religion which all men knew she had of long tyme observed, and ment, God willing, to contynue the same; willing all men to be quiet and not call men the names of heretyk or pa(pi)st, but eche man to live after the religyon he thought best untyll further order wer taken concernyng the same.

[b]Note, that on tuisdaie the xxix[th] of Auguste, I dyned at

[a] There is a copy of this proclamation in Foxe, vol. iii. p. 18; and its substance in Strype, Memorials, vol. iii. p. 25, Heylyn's Ecclesiastical History, 1674, p. 193.

[b] MS. f. 46, b.—This highly interesting passage has been unknown to the modern biographers of Lady Jane Grey, though it has been once extracted, and printed, when the MS. was in the possession of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his pamphlet intitled "The Primitive Practice of preserving Truth. 1645." 4to. Sir Simonds has there appended to it the following remarks: "How justly may the *masculine* constancie of this excellent lady, whose many vertues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgement against all such poore spirits, who for feare of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth, and so crown the trophees of the antichristian or mongrill adversaries by their lamentable apostasie. For what shee here spake christianly, shee within a few moneths afterwards performed constantly, her life being taken from her on the 12th day of February, 1553, having lived first to see Mr. Harding, her father's chaplain, revolted to Antichrist, to whom she wrote an effectual letter of admonition and reproof, published by Mr. Fox in his Acts and Monuments, p. 1291, not unworthy the perusall of the ablest christians and greatest doctors." In Foxe also, and in most of her biographies, will be found the lady Jane's conference with Dr. Feckenham, who was sent by queen Mary to persuade her to be reconciled to the church of Rome.

Partrige's house with my lady Jane, being ther present, she sitting at the bordes ende, Partrige, his wife, Jacob my ladyes gentill woman, and hir man. She comanding Partrige and me to put on our cappes, emongest our communycacion at the dyner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice droncke to me and bad me hartellie wellcome, saithe she, "The quenes majesty is a mercy-full princes; I beseche God she may long contynue, and sende his bountefull grace apon hir." After that, we fell in (discourse of[a]) mattiers of religion; and she axed what he was that preched at Polles on sonday beefore; and so it was tolde hir to be one *(blank in MS.)* "I praie you," quod she, "have they masse in London?" "Yay, for suthe," quod I, "in some places." "Yt may so be," quod she, "yt is not so strange as the sodden convertyon of the late duke; for who wolde have thought," saide she, "he would have so don?" Yt was aunswered her, "Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon." "Pardon?" quod she; "wo worthe him! he hathe brought me and our stocke in most myserable callamyty and mysery by his exceeding ambicion. But for th' aunswering that he hoped for life by his tourning, thoughe other men be of that opynion, I utterly am not; for what man is ther lyving, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that wolde hope of life in that case; being in the felde ageinst the quene in person as generall, and after his taking so hated and evell spoken of by the comons? and at his coming into pryson so wonderyed at[b] as the like was never harde by any man's tyme. Who was judge that he shoulde hope for pardon, whose life was odyous to all men? But what will ye more? like as his life was wicked and full of dissimulacion, so was his ende therafter. I pray God, I, nor no frende of myne, dye so. Shoulde I, who (am) yonge and in my fewers,[c] forsake my faythe for the love of lyfe? Nay, God forbed! moche more he should not, whose fatall course, allthoughe he had lyved his just noumber of yeres, coulde not have long

[a] These words are inserted in the MS. by sir Simonds D'Ewes.

[b] *i. e.* apparently, gazed at without sympathy.

[c] So the MS. probably for "few years." Sir Simonds D'Ewes so understood it, but altered the phrase to "the flower of my yeeres."

contynued. But life was swete, it appeered; so he might have lyved, you will saye, he dyd (not) care howe. Indede the reason is goode; for he that wolde have lyved in chaynes to have had his lyfe, by like wold leave no other meane attempted. But God be mercyfull to us, for he sayeth, Whoso denyeth him before men, he will not knowe him in his Father's kingdome." With this and moche like talke the dyner passyd away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would witsafe accept me in hir companye; and she thancked me likewise, and sayd I was wellcome. She thancked Partrige also for bringing me to dyner. "Madam," saide he, "wee wer somewhat bolde, not knowing that your ladyship dyned belowe untyll we fonde your ladyship ther." And so Partrig and I departed.

[a] The iiij. daye of September, ther was ij. proclamations set out, the one forgeving the subsydy, and the other for the stabling[b] of certen coynes, as the grot, ij[d]. and i[d]. and certen golde coynes.

Note, that at the proclamacion for remytting the subsydy, ther was a mervaylouse noyes of rejoysinge, and gevyng the queene thankes, in Chepesyde, by the people for the same.

Note, that the *(blank)* daye of September, the lord Ferris,[c] the lord chefe justice Chumbley,[d] and the lorde Montegue,[e] wer dysmyssed of ther imprysonement in the Tower.

Note, that the (xiiij.[f]) daie of September, maister Latamer[g] was brought to the Tower prisoner, who at his coming in saide to one

[a] MS. fol. 57, b.

[b] *i. e.* establishing? Both these proclamations are noticed under the same date in Stowe's Chronicle.

[c] Walter Devereux, who had been created viscount Hereford in 1550, though both in this Diary and in that of Machyn he is still called lord Ferrars, and by Stowe lord Ferrers of Chartley. In the register of the Privy Council he is properly styled viscount Hereford. He had married lady Mary Grey, aunt to the duke of Suffolk.

[d] Sir Roger Cholmley: see notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 368.

[e] Sir Edward Montagu: see notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 356.

[f] These figures are filled in by a second hand.

[g] On the 24th August (the same day that bishop Gardiner was made lord chancellor), "Hugh Latymer clerke apeared before the lords, and for his sedicious demeanor was committed to the Tower, there to remaine a close prisoner, having attending upon him one Anstey his servant." Register of the Privy Council.

Rutter, a warder ther, "What, my olde frende, howe do you? I am nowe come to bee your neighbour agayne;" and was lodged in the garden in sir Thomas Palmer's lodging.

Note, that the xiijth of this moneth mr. Cheke [a] was dismissed out of his imprysonment in the Tower.

Item, the xiiijth of September, the busshope of Canterbury [b] was brought into the Tower as prysoner, and lodged in the Tower over the gate anenst the water-gate, wher the duke of Northumberland laye before his death.

Note, about this daye, or the day before, my lady of Warwike had licence to come to hir husbande; at the same tyme my lady Taylebushe, nowe my lorde Ambrose wif, had lycence to come to my lorde Ambrose; and he and my lorde Harry had the liberty of the leades over Cole Harbert. Likewise had the lorde Herry and the lord Guilforde the liberty of the leades on Beacham's tower; likewise had mr. Yorke the liberty of the leades on the Bell tower; the said tyme had my lorde marques and the erle of Huntingdon libertye to come to the chappell to masse a' dayes; like liberty had doctour Rydley, lat bushop of London.

Note, that on Wenisdaie the (*blank*) daye of Septembre, ther was certayn raskalles or mariners that would have taken awaie the quenes horses at Greenwich, and meaned to have assembled on Blakheathe for that purpose, but they were prevented by syr Edward Hastings, who, at vij. of the clocke at night went thether with the garde and sondery other; and so the raskalles cam not accordinge to ther appoyntement.

Note, that the xxvij. of September, the quenes majestye cam to the Tower by water towarde hir coronatione, and with hir the lady Elizabeth hir sister, with diverse other ladyes of name, and the hole counsayll. The lord Paiget bare the sworde before hir that daye. Before hir aryvall was shott of a peale of gonnes.

Note, the last daie of September 1553, the quene came thoroughe

[a] Sir John Cheke. [b] Thomas Cranmer.

London towardes hir coronation, sytting in a charret of tyssue, drawne with vj. horses, all betrapped with redd velvett. She sat in a gown of blew velvet, furred with powdered armyen, hangyng on hir heade a call of clothe of tynsell besett with perle and ston, and about the same apon her hed a rond circlet of gold, moche like a hooped garlande, besett so richely with many precyouse stones that the value therof was inestymable; the said call and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fayn to beare uppe hir hedd with hir handes; and a canopy was borne over the char. Before hir rydd a nomber of gentlemen and knightes, and then dyverse judges, then diverse doctours of dyvynity; then followed certeyn bushopes; after theym came certayn lordes; then followed most parte of hir counsaille; after whom followed xiij. knights of the bathe, every one in thir order, the names wherof were theis, the erle of Devonshire, the lorde of Cardyf, son to the erle of Pembroke, the erle of Arundell's son, being lorde Mountryvers.[a] Then followed the lorde of Winchester, being lorde chauncellor, the merques of Winchester, lorde highe treasurer, having the seale and mace before them; next came the duke of Norfolk, and after him the erle of Oxforde, who bare the sworde before hir; sir Edward Hastinges led hir horse in his hande. After the quenes chariott cam another chariott having canapie all of one covereng, with cloth of sillver all whitt, and vj. horses betrapped with the same, bearing the said charyat; and therin sat at the ende, with hir face forwarde, the lady Elizabeth; and at the other ende, with her backe forwarde, the lady Anne of Cleves. Then cam theyre sondry gentyllwomen rydyng on horses traped with redd vellvet, after that charyet, and their gownes and kertelles of red vellvet likewise. Then rid sir Thomas Stradlyng after theym; then followed ij. other charyots covered with redd sattyn, and the horses betraped with the same; and certayne gentellwomen betwen every of the saide charyots rydyng in chrymesyn satteyn, ther horses betraped with the same. The nomber of the gen-

[a] The rest of their names are omitted. A list of them has been given in the notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 334.

tillwomen that rydd were xlvj. in noumber, besides theym that wer in the charyots.

At Phanchurche was one pageaunt made by the Geneways, and ther a childe dressed in a girles apparell was borne uppe by ij. men siting in a chaire, and gave the quene a salutation. At Gracechurche corner ther was another pageant made by the Esterlings, and theron was made a mount on hie, and a littell condyt which ran wyn. Upon the saide mount stoode iiij. childeren, which with certayn salutacions did likewise gratefye the quene. Over that ther was a device that maister *(blank)* flyed downe from the tope of the pageant as she ryd by. At the ende of Gracechurche ther was another pageant made by the Florentyns, very highe, on the toppe wherof ther stode iiij. pictures, and on the syde of them, on the highest toppe, ther stoode an angell clothed in grene, with a trompete in his hande, and he was made with suche a device that when the trompeter, who stoode secretly in the pageant, ded blow his trompet, the angell dyd put his trompet to his mowth, as though it should be he that blewe the same, to the marvaling of many ignorant persons. The pageant was made with iij. thorough-fares like gates, and on either syde of the great gat ther dyd hang ij. tables of clothe of sillver, wherin was wrytten certayn verses; the one table in Latten, and the other in Inglyshe myter, gratefyeng. And in the myds of the saide pageant ther stoode vj. persons clothed in longe colord gownes with coputances hats, who gave hir a salutacion of goode lucke. At the condyt in Cornehill, ther was a very prity pageant made very gorgosly, wheron ther set iij. childeren clothed in womens apparell; the myddlemost of theym, having a crowne on hir hedd, and a septer in hir hande, was called Grace; the other on her right hand, called Vertue, a cupp; and the other on her left hande, called Nature, a branch of olyf. And when the quene cam by, they in order kneled down, and every one of them sung certayn verses of gratefyeng the quene. Ther sonded also trompets on high.

At the great conduit ther was also another pageant made by the cyty. At the lyttell condyt ther was another pageant, wheron

stoode certayn children in women's apparell, and after a certayn oracion and salutacion ther was geven the quene, by one of the children, for the cyty, in a goodly purse a thousande li.[a] which she most thankfully receyved.

At the scholehouse in Palles church ther was certayn children and men sung dyverse staves in gratefying the quene;[b] ther she stayed a goode while and gave dilligent ere to their song.

At this tyme a fellow who had made ij. scaffoldes apon the tope of Polles steeple, the one upon the ball therof, and the other upon the tope therof above that, and had set out viij. streamers vean grat[c] apon the same scaffolde, having the red crosse and the sworde as the arms of the cyty of London doth geve; and he himself standing apon the veary toppe or backe of the wether cocke, dy(d) shake a lytel flag with his hande, after standing on one foot dy(d) shak his other legg, and then knelled on his knees apon the saide wether cock, to the great mervayle and wondering of all the people which behelde him, because yt was thought a mattyer impossyble.

Over agaynst the deanes house in Polles churche yarde ther was another pageant, wher on ether syde stoode sondery persons singing dyverse salutacions as the quene cam by, and certayn lyttell children stoode apon the pageant on highe, with tapers light and burning, which tapers wer made of most swete perfumes.

[d] At the condyt in Flet Street was likewis another pageant, which was made like a castell, wher was also diverse as well children as men, synging songes of rejoycing as she cam by.

Memorandum, the first daie of October, 1553, was quene Mary crowned;[e] that daie she cam first by water to the old palice and ther

[a] Stowe says "a thousand markes of golde."

[b] Here "maister Haywood sate in a pageant under a vine, and made to her an oration in Latin and English." Stowe.

[c] *i. e.* very great? Stowe describes this performance more fully. It was done by "one Peter a Dutchman," to whom the city gave 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for his costs and pains, and all his stuff.

[d] MS. f. 68.

[e] The ceremonial of queen Mary's coronation has been published at considerable length

tarryed tyll about xj. of the clocke, and then went to the churche on foot apon blew clothe being rayled on every syde; she was in a gown of blew velvett, lyned with pouderyd armyn, having the same cyrclet on hir hedd with the whiche she cam thorough London the daye before. She was ledd betwen one bushope and *(blank)*, and many bishopes in their myters and crosiars before hir.

[a] In the churche, before she was anoynted, the lorde chauncellour went to the foure corners of the no.. (?) and cried, "Yf eny man will or can alledge eny cause whie quene Mary shoulde not be crowned, let theym speke now:" and then the people in every place of the churche cryed, "Quene Mary! quene Mary!" Then the bushope of Winchester, being lorde chauncellour, proclaymed the quenes pardon, wherin was excepted all prysoners in the Tower, the Flet, certayn in the Mershallsey, and suche as had eny comandement to kepe the house, and certayn other.

Note, she was ledde iiij. or v. tymes on the alter, with so many and sondery cerymonyes in anoynting, crowning, and other olde customes, that it was past iij. almost iiij. of the clocke at night or ever she cam from the church agayn. And as she cam homeward ther was borne before her iij. swordes shethed, and one naked. She was ledd likewise betwen the old bushope of Dyrom[b] and *(blank)*, having in hir hande a cepter of golde, and in hir other hande a ball of golde, which she twirled and tourned in hir hande as she came homewarde. She wore a chrymesyn vellvet gown, and a crown on hir hedd, every rely [erle?] and contesse following in crymesyn vellvet with crownets on ther hedds of gold. When she was enteryd in Westminster hall ther was ill scramble for the cloth and rayles; then was ther the wast meat cast out of the ketchen made under the pallaice wall with bordes, which was very muche of all kinde of meat. And when they had

in Mr. Planché's Regal Records, 1837. 12mo. A document respecting the claims made to perform services on this occasion, was printed in the Camden Society's volume of RUTLAND PAPERS, p. 118.

[a] MS. f. 66. [b] Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham.

don casting out meat ther was no lesse scrambling for the ketchyn yt self, every man that wolde plucking downe the bordes therof, and carying yt away, that yt might welbe callyd a wast indedde.

[a] Note, that on the xviij[th] of October, master Harry Dudley was delyvered out of the Tower; and a lyttell before also was maister Yorke delyveryd.

Note, that on Wenisday, the *(blank)* daye of October, was an act passed in the parliament,[b] that men might reason whether the Quene were Supreme Hedd, or whether the bushoppe of Rome might not lawfully have the same agayn, with certayn other mattyers.

The *(blank)* of November ther passed an act for the stablishing of religion, wherby ix. acts made in Edward vj[tes] daies, concerning religion, was mayde . . . .

The xiij[th] daie of November were ledd out of the Tower on foot, to be arrayned, to yeldhall, with the axe before theym, from theyr warde, Thomas Cranmer, archbushoppe of Canterbury, between *(blank)*

Next followed the lorde Gilforde Dudley, between *(blank)*

Next followed the lady Jane, between *(blank)*, and hir ij. gentyll-women following hir.

Next followed the lorde Ambrose Dudley and the lorde Harry Dudley.

The lady Jane was in a blacke gowne of cloth, tourned downe; the cappe lyned with fese velvett, and edget about with the same, in a French hoode, all black, with a black byllyment, a black velvet boke hanging before hir, and another boke in hir hande open, holding hir *(the entry breaks off)*.

In the beginning of Novembre was the furst notyce emong the people towching the maryage of the quene to the king of Spayne. About this tyme also[c] . . . . of the fall of . . . .

[a] MS. f. 41.

[b] The Parliament did not meet until the 12th November.

[c] A line is here so scribbled as to be illegible.

Note, the same moneth of November syr Harry Gates, before condempned, was set at lyberty out of the Tower and dysmyssed.

The xiiijth of Decr. two prentyces were brought to the Tower, one Andrews (?) and another.

Note, the xvth of December, 1553, the proclamacion for the stablyshing again of the masse was proclaymed.

The xviijth day, the lady Jane had the libertie of the Tower, so that she might walk in the quenes garden and on the hille; and the lorde Robert and lorde Gilford the liberty of the leds in the Bell Tower, whether they . . . . . .

The xix. daie, the erle of Ormonde, sir *(blank)* Courteney knight, and mr. Barnaby, fell out in the night with a certayn priest in the streat, whose parte a gentyllman comyng by by chance took, and so they fell by the eares; so that Barnabye was hurt. The morowe the(y) were ledd by the ij. sheryves to the counter in the Pultry, where they remayned *(blank)* daies.

This day the queene removed to Richmond.

The xvth of December, sir Edmonde Peckham was apoynted treasurer generall of all the quenes treasure whatsoever.

The xxth daye ther was brought into the Tower at the water-gate . . . . . ij. lighters laden with harnes.

About Christmas eve ther came forth a booke entytled "De vera obedyentia," imprinted, as yt is saide, at Roane,[a] where it was translated, an oracion made by the byshop of Winchester, &c. with the preface of Bonner, byshop of London. The translation thereof[b]

Note, that the *(blank)* day of December the lorde merques of Northehampton had his pardon, and was delivered out of the Tower.

About this tyme ther was one brak out of the Tower, and was taken again in one of the shippes the day followinge.

Note, that the morowe after Newe yere's day, being the second of

[a] This oration was first written and published in 1534. The English translation here mentioned was made by Michael Wood, a zealous protestant, and printed, with a bitter preface, at Rouen, 1553.

[b] There are two lines more of this paragraph, but so scribbled as not to be readable.

Janyver, the embassadors called the erle of Eglemod, the erle of Lane, and Coryurs,[a] came in for the knytting upp of the marryage of the quene to the kinge of Spayne, before whose landing ther was lett of a great peale of guns in the Tower. He landed at Tower wharf, and ther was met by sir Anthony Browne, he being clothed in a very gorgeouse apparell. At the Tower hill, the erle of Devonshire, with the lorde Garret, and dyvers other, receyved [him] in most honorable and famylier wise; and so, the lorde of Devonshire gevyng him the right hand, brought him thoroughte Chepsyde and so fourthe to Westminster;[b] the people, nothing rejoysing, helde downe their heddes sorowfully.

The day befor his coming in, as his retynew and harbengers came ryding thorugh London, the boyes pelted at theym with snowballes; so hatfull was the sight of ther coming in to theym. The morrow following, being wenysday, the lord chancellour sent for the churchewardens and substancyllest of xxx. parishes of London, to come before him, apon whose apparence he enquired of diverse of theym whie they had not the masse and servyse in Latten in their churches, as some of theym had not, as St. (*blank*) in Mylke stret, and others; and they answered that they had don what lay in theym.

[c] The xiiij[th] of Januarie, anno 1553, the bushope of Winchester, lorde chancellour of Inglande, in the chamber of presence at Westminster, made to the lordes, nobilytye, and gentyllmen, an oration very eloquentlie, wherin he declared that the quenes majesty, partely for the welthe and enryching of the realme, and partely for frendeship and other waighty considerations, hathe, after moche suite on his (the king of Spaynes) behalf made, determyned, by the consent of hir counsaille and nobylyty, to matche herselfe with him in most godly and lawfull matrymonye; and he said

[a] The count of Egmont, Charles count de Laing, and the sieur de Corriers: see a note to Machyn's Diary, p. 337.

[b] *The word* Westminster *is erased, and several words written above, but they are illegible. qu.* Dyrram place?

[c] MS. f. 1, b.

further that she should have for her joynter xxx^ml ducketes by the yere, with all the Lowe Country of Flanders; and that the issue betwene theym two lawfully begotten shoulde, yf there were any, be heir as well to the kingdome of Spayne, as also to the saide Lowe Country. And he declared further, that we were moche bounden to thanck God that so noble, worthye, and famouse a prince woulde vouchsaff so to humble himself, as in this maryadge to take apon him rather as a subject then otherwise; and that the quene shoulde rule all thinges as she dothe nowe; and that ther should be of the counsell no Spanyard, nether should have the custody of any fortes or castelles; nether bere rule or offyce in the quenes house, or elswhere in all Inglande; with diverse other things which he then rehersed; when he sayde the quenes pleasure and request was, that, like humble subjectes, for her sake they would receyve him with all reverence, joye, honnour, &c.

Theis newes, althoughe before they wer not unknown to many, and very moche mysliked, yit being nowe in this wise pronounced, was not onely credyted, but also hevely taken of sondery men, yea and therat allmost eche man was abashed, loking daylie for worse mattiers to growe shortly after.

On the morowe following, being monday, the mayre, sheryfes, and diverse of the best commoners, wer sent for before the counsell, where the said lord chancellour made the like oration to theym, desyring theym to behave themselve like subjectes with all humblenes and rejoycing.

Within vj. dayes after ther was worde brought howe that sir Peter Carowe, sir Gawen Carowe, sir Thomas Dey,(?) and sir *(blank)*, with dyverse others, wer uppe in Devonshire resysting of the king of Spaynes comyng, and that they hade taken the city of Exeter and castell ther into their custodye.

Note, that on tuyseday the xxiij^th of January, the lorde Robert Dudley, sone to the late duke of Northumberland, was brought out of the Tower to the yeldhall, wher he was arrayned and condempned.

Note, that the xxvth of January the counsell was certyfyed that ther was uppe in Kent sir Thomas Wyat,[a] mr. Cullpepper, the lorde Cobham, who had taken his castell of Coulyng,[b] and the lord warden, who had taken the castell of Dover,[c] and sir Herry Isely in Meddeston, sir James Croftes, mr. Harper, mr. Newton,[d] mr. Knevet, for the said quarrell, in resysting the said king of Spayne, as they said, ther pretence was this only and non other, and partely for moving certayn counsellours from about the quene. And about this time sir James Croftes departed to Walles, as yt is thought to rayse his powre there.

The xxvjth day ther was [brought] into the Tower as prysoners the lord marques[e] and sir Edwarde Warner knight, in the mornyng. And the same nyght there went out certeyn of the garde and other agaynste the Kentish men. Item, the same day, in the mornyng, the cytey began to be kept with harnessyd men.

The day afore, the lorde treasurer,[f] being at the yeld hall, with

[a] The ensuing passages of the Chronicle supply some very interesting details respecting Wyatt's rebellion, particularly those occurrences in connexion with it which happened in and near London and the royal court. "The Historie of Wyates Rebellion" was compiled by John Proctor, the first master of sir Andrew Judde's school at Tunbridge, and published soon after its termination in 12mo. It is the principal source of the narrative given in Holinshed's Chronicle, and it has been reprinted entire in the second edition of The Antiquarian Repertory, 4to. 1808, vol. iii. pp. 65—114. Proctor, however, is the partial chronicler of the victorious party, and omits the many curious pictures of their distress and embarrassment which are related by the present authority (and which are remarkably confirmed by Underhill's account, which will be found in the Appendix). The late Mr. Robert Peirce Cruden, in his History of Gravesend and the Port of London, 1843, 8vo. has collected the particulars of all that occurred within the county of Kent, combining the information contained in Proctor's narrative, with several original documents found in the State Paper Office.

[b] Sir Thomas Wyatt hoped for the support of lord Cobham, who seems to have temporised in the matter, but gave information to the queen's lieutenant, the duke of Norfolk: see three of his letters, all written from Cowling castle, in Cruden, pp. 178, 180.

[c] Sir Thomas Cheney was also backward in maintaining the royal authority, and consequently fell under suspicion; see his statements in explanation in Cruden, p. 183.

[d] A mistake probably for Rudston.

[e] The marquess of Northampton.

[f] The marquess of Winchester.

the mayre and aldermen, declared that yt was goode to have a nombre of ij^{m}, or ther aboutes, in a redynes for the savegarde of the cyte, &c. with his . . . .

Note, that the xxvth daie of Januarie the duke of Suffolk, the lord John Graie, and the lord Leonarde Gray, fledd.[a] Yt is said that the same morning that he was going ther came a messenger to him from the quene, that he shulde come to the court. "Marye," quoth he, "I was comyng to her grace. Ye may see I am booted and spurred redy to ryde; and I will but breke my fast, and go." So he gave the messenger a rewarde, and caused hym to be made to drink, and so thence departed himself, no man knoweth whither. Sir Thomas Palmer, servant to the erle of Arundel, said on the morow folowing, to a friend of his, that the complot betwene the Frenche king and the said duke of Suffolk was nowe come to light. The same day the duke of Norfolke wente down towardes Gravesende.

The xxvjth day yt was noysed that Rochester bridge was taken by the rebelles.[b]

About this tyme the lord of Bergenny[c] by chance encounteryd with sir Herry Isely, and sleue ij. or iij. of his men, he fleeing to the camp of Wyat.

The same day ther was made redy, by vj. of the clock at nyght, about v^{C}. of harnessed men, and came together at Leaden hall; and the sonday followinge they went towardes Gravesende against the Kentyshe men. Note, the erle of Huntingdon went down to take the duke of Suffolk.

The duke of Norfolk was levtenant of the army, and with him the erle of Ormonde, master Gernyngham[d] captayn of the garde, with a

[a] From his house at Sheen in Surrey: see the Appendix.

[b] *The word is apparently* taken. *At first the chronicler had written* was driven upp or broken downe.

[c] The encounter of lord Burgavenny with sir Henry Isley took place in the parish of Wrotham, at a field called Blacksoll field, on saturday the 27th of January, and is fully described by Proctor. Isley secreted himself during the following night in Hartley wood, and then fled into Hampshire.

[d] Sir Henry Jerningham.

great nombre of the garde with him, and a great nomber of other soldrars. Apon the . . . . . they were sett in array towardes Rochester bridge, which was kept by Wyat's company, and furnyshed with iij. or foure doble-cannons. One Tutton, ... FeWilliams, and Bret, was captaynes of the said company.

And before the setting forward of thes men the duke sent a herald into Rochester with the quenes proclamation, that all such as wolde desyst ther purpose shuld have frank and free pardon; who cam apon the bridge, and wolde have gone thoroghe into the cyty, but they that kept the bridge wold not suffer him tyll that the captayn came, who at last granted the same to be red in the cytye; but the same being ended, eche man cryed they had don nothing wherfor they shold nede eny pardon, and that quarrell which they toke they wold dye and lyve yn it. Neverthelesse at the last sir Jeorge Harper receyved the pardon uttwardely, and being receyved under the duke of Norfolkes protection cam on forwarde agaynst the Kentyshmen; and even as the company was sett in a redynes, and marched forwarde toward the bridge, the saide Bret, beinge captaine of the v^{c}. Londoners, of which the more parte were in the forwarde, turned himselfe aboute, and drawinge out his sworde, saide, by reaporte, thes or moche like wordes: "Masters, we goe about to fight agaynst our natyve countreymen of Ingland and our friendes in a quarrell unrightfull and partely wicked, for they, consydering the great and manyfold myseries which are like to fall apon us if we shalbe under the rule of the proude Spanyardes or strangers, are here assemblyd to make resystance of the cominge in of him or his favourers; and for that they knowe right well, that yf we should be under ther subjection they wolde, as slaves and villaynes, spoyle us of our goodes and landes, ravishe our wyfes before our faces, and deflowre our daughters in our presence, have nowe, for the avoydinge of so great mysschefes and inconveynences likely to light not only apon theymselves but on every of us and the hole realme, have taken apon theym now, in tyme before his comyng, this their enterprise, agaynst which I thinck no Inglyshe hart ought to

say, moche lesse by fyghting to withstande theym. Wherfore I and theis (meanyng by such as were in that rank with him,) will spende our bloode in the quarrell of this wourthy captain, maister Wyat, and other gentyllmen here assemblyd." Which wordes once pronounced, eche man turned their ordenance against their fellowe.[a] The Londoners thereupon cryed, A Wyat! A Wyat! of which sudden noyse the duke, the erle of Ormonde, and the captayne of the garde, being abashed, fledd forthwith. Immedyately came in maister Wyat and his company on horseback rushing in emongest theym, saying, aswell to the garde, Londoners, as to all the rest, "So many as will come and tarry with us shalbe welcome; and so many as will depart, good leave have they." And so all the Londoners, parte of the garde, and more then iij. partes of the retynue, went into the campe of the Kentyshmen, where they styl remayne. At this discomfyture the duke lost viij. peces of brasse, with all other munytyon and ordenance, and himselfe, with the erle of Ormonde and Gernyngham and others, fledd to London. Ye shoulde have sene some of the garde com home, ther cotes tourned, all ruyned, without arowes or stringe in their bowe, or sworde, in very strange wyse; which dyscomfiture, lyke as yt was a hart-sore and very dyspleasing to the quene and counsayll, even so yt was almost no lesse joyous to the Londoners, and most parte of all others.

This day was doctor Sandes,[b] Veron, Basyll, and about v. prisoners more, removed out of the Tower to the Mershallsee.

On tuysday following the saying was that the erle of Penbroke had promysed never to look the queene in the face before he brought them upp, God willing; he to be accompanied with the erle of , ... , the lord pryvey seale,[c] [and] the lord Clynton.

[a] *Misprinted* followers *in Stowe.*

[b] Doctor Sandys (who was afterwards bishop of London) was vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and was compromised by the reception he had there given to the duke of Northumberland, and a sermon he had preached favourable to the accession of queen Jane. Veron and Basil had been committed, together with the more celebrated Bradford, as "seditious preachers," (see notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 332).

[c] The earl of Bedford.

This day a bruit went in London that ther was a companye upp in Hervodeshire.[a]

Note, the duke of Norfolke went into Norfolke at this tyme.

Note, apon thursday the quene came [to] the yelde hall, all the garde being in harnesse, with her the lorde chancellour and the counsell. At Paules churchyarde the erle of Penbroke mett hir, to whom she bowed herselfe partely lowe, and the lorde chancellour, being w . . . . . full sudayn (?) bowed himself benethe the pomell of his saddell. She made an oration[b] to the . . . . in the . . . . , and retourned by water.[c]

On wenisday was a proclamation by the quene, bothe in London and in Southewark, that Wyat and all his companye were ranck traytours, and alsuche as was gone to Wyat, and as many as dyd take his parte or spake in his cause, and that all his wellwishers shoulde go thoroghe Southwarke to him, and they shoulde have free passadge, &c.

Note, on wenisdaye, being the last of Januarie, master Wiat and his company came to Dartforde, and the next day they came full and hole to Grenewich and Debtforde, where they remayned that thursdaye, frydaye, and the fore-noone of satterdaie.

In this space, apon the frydaye, which was candlemas daye, the moste parte of the howseholders of London, with the mayre and aldermen, were in harnesse, so that ye shoulde have seen the stretes very full of harnessed men in every parte.[d]

[a] Herefordshire—raised by sir James Croft.

[b] "The oration of queene Mary in the guildhall" is printed at length by Foxe, iii. 30.

[c] *These lines are so scribbled as to be almost illegible.*

[d] Stowe adds to this passage, "Yea, this day and other dayes the justices, serjeantes at the law, and other lawyers in Westminster hall, pleaded in harnesse." The following anecdote is related of Ralph Rokeby, serjeant-at-law, during the same period of alarm: "And yet I may not soe injuriously defraude my father of his due praise as to omitt his service against Wyatt, which was thus: Sir Thomas Wyatt the rebell of Kent against king Philip and queene Mary, the Spaniards, being noised to be comeing towards London, your grandfather went to Westminster in his serjant's robes to plead, under them a good coate-armour; and heareing at Charing-crosse the nere approach of the enemie, the rebell, he hastened him to the queens court at Whitehall, strunge and fetled an archer of the guard's liverye bow that stood there unstrunge, threw downe the serjant's robes for that tyme, and went to the Gate-house to serve there with a bowe and a sheaf of arrowes, and

This daye the erle of Pembroke, generall of the quenes army royall, with the lord William Haward, lorde deputy,[a] and the lord Clynton, with not past l. of their servantes unharnessed, went over the bridge into the borough of Southwark, up to saincte Georges, and so retourned agayn into the citye.

Note, this same frydaye, being the seconde of Februarie, the lorde Cobham (leving his ij. sones with Mr. Wyat) at midenight cam to the gates of the bridge, and ther was lett in at midenight, and the next morowe was brought to the counsell, wher he remayned at the erle of Pembroke's untyll afternoone, and then was brought to the Tower as prysonner.

This daye ther came a gentleman named *(blank)*, and a drome, in message; who was received in Southwarke and blindfylld brought thoroughe the cytye unto the erle of Pembroke's at Coleharbert, where he remayned untyll afternoone that he was conducted and so brought agayn into Southwarke, where at saint George's churche hys horse was delivered him, and so departed with the drom which cam with him.

On sattersdaye in the mornynge, being the thirde of Februarye, ther came fourthe a proclamation, sett furthe by the quenes counsell, wherin was declared that that traytour Wyat deduced simple people agaynst the quene. Wherefore, she willed all her loving subjectes to endevour themselves to withstande him; and that the duke of Suffolke, with his ij. brethren, were dyscomfeted by the erle of Huntingdon, and certayn of his horsemen taken, and the duke and his ij.

there taried till the enemie was yielded. Old Nicholson, of Paule's chaine, told me my father then committed a bagg of money to him to keepe, and that Alexander Metham his clerk was with him, but that William Bell hidd him under my father's bedd in Serjantes inn, and there laye untill his master retorned." (Œconomia Rokebeiorum, in Whitaker's History of Richmondshire, vol. i. p. 173.) The martial spirit spread even to the priesthood, if we may believe another contemporary chronicle: "On Ashe Weddinsday that Wyat was at Charynge crosse did doctor Weston singe masse before the quene in harnesse under his vestments. This Weston reported himself unto one Mr. Robards." (MS. Harl. 419, f. 131.)

[a] Lord William Howard was at this time deputy of Calais.

brethren fledde in servingman's cottes; and that sir Peter Carowe was fled into France; and that sir Gawen Carowe, Gibbes, and others, were taken, and remayn in Exeter; and that the hole cytie of Exeter, and commons therabout, were at the quenes commandement, with their powere, to the death.[a] And that she dyd pardon the hole campe except Wyat, Harper, Rudestone, and Iseley; and that whosoever coulde take Wyat, except the sayd iiij. persons, should have an hunderith poundes a yere to them and to their heires for ever.

Note, this daie before noone all horsemen were by a drom commanded to be at sainct James felde, and the footemen commanded to be in Fynsbury felde to muster. This day, about iij. of the clocke, sir Thomas Wyat and the Kentyshemen marched forwarde from Debtford towardes London with v. auncientes, being by estimation about ij. thousand men; which their comyng, so soone as it was perceyved, ther was shot off out of the White tower a vj. or viij. shott;

[a] Sir Peter Carew, and his uncle sir Gawen, had been the commanders employed by the government of king Edward VI. to quell the insurrection of Humphrey Arundell and others in Devonshire, in the year 1549, and had been rewarded with the rebels' lands. (Lysons, Magna Britannia, Devonshire, p. x.) Mr. Lysons found no account of the present insurrection in any of the annals of Exeter; and from "The Life of Sir Peter Carew, of Mohun's Ottery," written by John Vowell, alias Hoker (the historian of Exeter), which is printed in the 28th volume of Archæologia, it is evident that the reports which reached London were much exaggerated. It appears that, before the conspirators had made any head, sir Gawen Carew, sir Arthur Champernowne, and William Gybbes esquire were arrested by sir Thomas Denys the sheriff and sir John Sentleger. Sir Peter Carew, escaping to Weymouth, fled first to France, afterwards to Venice, and lastly to Strasburg; from whence he was tempted to go to Antwerp, in order to seek an interview with lord Paget, but, being arrested, was at last brought back to the Tower of London, in company with sir John Cheke, and finally made his peace with the queen by payment of a heavy fine. See the narrative of these adventures in Archæologia, vol. xxviii. pp. 120 et seq.; and see also in Tytler's "Edward VI. and Mary," a letter addressed to the queen by sir Nicholas Wotton, her ambassador at Paris, describing sir Peter Carew's reception on his first arrival in France. The date of his release is shown by the following passage in a letter of sir John Mason to Peter Vannes, dated London, Oct. 12, 1555: "Mr. Carew, having throughlie clered himself of all matters layed unto his charge, is also abrode with the quenes favour." (MS. Cotton. Vesp. C. VII. f. 200.)

but myssed them, somtymes shoting over, and somtymes shoting short. After the knowledge therof once had in London, forthwith the draybridge was cutt downe and the bridge gates shut. The mayre and the sheryves harnessyd theymselves, and commanded eche man to shutt in their shoppes and wyndowes, and being redy in harnes to stande every one at his dore, what chance soever myght hapen. Then should ye have seen taking in wares of the stalles in most hasty manner; ther was renning upp and downe in every place to wepons and harnes; aged men were astoyned, many women wept for feare; children and maydes ran into their howses, shytting the dores for feare; moche noyse and tumult was every where; so terryble and fearfull at the fyrst was Wyat and his armyes comyng to the most part of the cytezens, who wer seldom or nere wont before to here or have eny suche invasions to their cyty.

At this time was Wyat entered into Kent street, and so by sainct George's church into Southwarke. Himselfe and parte of his compaynye cam in goode array downe Barmesey strete. Note, they wer sufferyd peceably to enter into Southwarke without repulse or eny stroke stryken either by the inhabitours or by eny other; yit was ther many men of the contry in the innes, raysed and brought thether by the lord William,[a] and other, to have gone agaynst the saide Wyat and Kentyshmen, but they all joyned themselves to the said Kentyshe rebelles, taking their partes; and the said inhabitantes most willinglye with their best entertayned them. Imediatly upon the said Wyates comynge, he made a proclamation that no souldear should take eny thing, but that he should pay for it, and that his coming was to resyst the comyng in of the Spanyshe kynge, &c.

At his comyng to the bridge foote, he ladd forthwith ij. peces of ordenance, and began a great trenche between the bridge and him; he laid another pece at sainct George's, another going into Barmesey strett, and another towardes the bushopes house.

Note, that on sonday the iiijth daye of February yt is sayd that the

[a] Lord William Howard.

lorde William Howard shold call at the gate and say, "Wyat?" At last one answeryd him, "What wold ye with him?" and he sayd, "I wold speke with him." And the other answeryd, "The captayne is busye; yf ye will any thing to him, I shall shewe him." "Mary (quod the lord William), knowe of him what he meneth by this invasyon, and whether he contynue in his purpose or no?" The messenger departed to master Wyat, and within iij. quarters of an hower returned with a purse, and therein master Wyat's answer, which being throwne over the gate, was receyved and redd by the said lord William, and his proclamation was cast over. Note, that from satersday at noone all botes being brought to London syde over the water, was commanded ther to staye, and in payne of death none to go over to theym.

Upon the iiijth of February ther was sett out of the Tower topp a banner of defyance, and at mornyng and evenyng, at the chardging of the watch, was shot of a gret pece of ordynance accustumably.

This day sir Nicholas Ponynges, as yt is said, being an assystant at the Tower, was with the quene to knowe whether they should shot of at the Kentyshmen, and so bett downe the houses upon their hedds. "Nay," sayde the quene, "that were pyty, for mayny pore men and howsholders are like to be undone there and kylled. For," sayth she, "I trust, God willing," saythe she, "that they shalbe fought with tomorrowe."

Note, that sir John of Brydges, the night before, saide to the wattche in the Tower, "I moche muse they are not fought withall. By God's mother! I feare there is some traytour abrode that they be sufferyd all this while; for surely, and yf yt had been about my centry,[a] I wolde have fought with theym myself, by Goddes grace!"

Note, that that night the Kentyshemen made a noys as yt were a signe of assault at the bridge, and shot of ij. half-hackes. This day the quenes company assembled in sainct James's parke.

Note, that yt is saide that the said master Wyat, apon the pro-

[a] *i. e.* on my sentry, or beat; a military expression, very appropriately addressed to the watch.

clamation that whosoever will take him should have a C$^{li.}$ in ey, dyd cause his name to be fayre wrytten by the name of Thomas Wyat, and sett yt on his cappe.

Note, that this vth day the noyes was that the lord warden, the lord of Burgenye, sir Rychard Southwell, was come to Blackeheath and Grenwich with iij. thousand men agaynst the said master Wyat.

Note, that on shryve-tuesdaye, being the vjth of Februarye, master Wyat departed out of Southwarke towards Kyngeston bridge, before xj. of the clocke before noone, in goode array they marched forwardes. A littell before his departing he shott of ij. peces of ordenaunces, the more to cover his departure so much as yt might be. And when he departed, yt is saide he paid all his soldears their wages, and made proclamation in Southewarke that yf eny of his soldears ought a peny to eny person ther, that they should come to him and he would se them paid; but ther was non complayned; all men the enhabytantes said that ther was never men behaved theymselves so honestly as his compayny dyd there for the tyme of their abode.

Note, that the night before, by chance, as the levetenantes man[a] of the Tower was rowing with a scoller over against Winchester place, ther was a waterman of the Tower steres desyred the said levetenauntes man to take him in, who dyd so; which vij. hagabusyars of Wyat's company spying the bote departing from land, called to them to land agayn, but they wolde not; wherapon eche man dyschardged their pece, and so one of theym by chaunce kylled the saide waterman, the which falling forthewith downe dedd, the scoller, with moche payne, rode thoroughe the bridg to the Tower wharf with the said levetenantes servant and the ded man in the bote. This thing was no sooner knowne to the levetenaunt, but the same night and the next morning (whether he had comysyon so to do is not knowne) bent vij. great peces of ordenance, that is to saie, culveringes and demi-canons, full agaynst the foote of the bridge and agaynst Southwarke, and the ij. steples of saincte Tooles and sainct

[a] Named Thomas Menehen, adds Stowe.

Marie Overies; besides all the peces on the White tower, one culvering on the Devyls tower, and iij. fawkenetes over the Watergate, all being bent towardes Southwarke. Which thing so sone as the inhabytauntes of Southwarke had intelligence of, certayn men, and also many women, came to the saide Wyat in most lamentable wise, saying, "Sir, we are like to be utterlie undone all and dystroyed for your sake or default; our houses, which are our lyvinges, shal be by and by thrown down apon our hedes, and our childers, to the utter desolation of this boroughe, with the shott of [the Tower] layed and chardged towardes us; for the love of God, therefore, take pytye apon us!" At which wordes he being partly abashed, stayed awhyle, and then said theis or moche-like words: "I pray you, my frendes, content yourselves a lyttell, and I will soone ease you of this myschefe; for God forbid that ye, or the least childe here, shoulde be hurt or killed in my behalfe." And so in most spedye maner marched awaye. Yt is saide he should say he wolde pay his soldears no more untill he paid theym in Chepesyde. Some reaported he knocked at the gate when he went, sayinge, "Twyse have I knocked and not ben suffered to enter; yf I knocke the thirde tyme I will come yn, by God's grace!"

And as he marched towardes Kingeston he mett by chaunce a merchaunt named Christopher Dorrell, whom he called, saying, "Cosen Dorrell, I praie you comende me unto your cetezens the Lonnonours, and saie unto theym from me, that when libertie and fredome was offered theym they wolde not receyve yt, neither wolde they admytt me to enter within their gates, who for their fredome, and the dysburdenyng of their grefes and opression by straundgers, wolde have francklie spente my bloode in that their cause and quarrell; but nowe well apperith their unthanckfullnes to us their frendes, which meanethe theym so moche goode; and therefore they are the lesse to be moned hereafter, when the myserable tyrrannye of straundgers shall oppresse theym." And so he went forwarde.

That night he marched so fast that it is saied he came to Kingeston by night, where the bridge was broken and kept on this side by

cc. or ther aboutes of the quenes partie; which bridge so soone as the saide Wyat perceyved to be broken, and the men kepyng yt, went back, and dyd fetch a pece or ij. of ordenance and laied on the bridge, by the reason wherof he forced the other to flee, and leave the bridge unkepte. Then caused he iij. or iiij. of his soldears to lepe into the water and swyme to the other side, who losed the Westerne botes, which ther laie tyed, and so brought theym over to the other syde, and by that meane he passyd the water.

It is a straundg mattier what paynes he tooke himself comyng on foote emongest theym; neither dyd they staye eny whit all that night, but cam almost to Braynforde or ever they were dyscryd by the quenes scootes, who ther by chaunce meting Brett and his companye, the saide Brett saide to the scoote, "Backe, villayne; yf thou goe further to dyscover eny compayny here, thou shalt dye out of hande." The scoute retourned in great hast.

Note, the saide daye of his departure the Londonours many were moche joyouse.

The same day towardes night ther was laden x. or xij. cartes with ordenance, as billes, morice pikes, speres, bowes, arowes, gonstones, pouder, shovells, mattokes, spades, baskets, and other munytion, and ther went out ij. culverings, one sacre, iij. faucons, and a fauconett; all which the same nighte stayed in Poules churchyarde. The same night, also, about v. of the clocke, a trompeter went along, warning all horse and men of armes to be at sainct James felde, and all footemen to be ther also by vjth of the clocke the next morning.

The next mornyng sir George Harper was taken.[a]

Yt is thought that the hast the saide Wyat and his companye made that night was partely for lacke of victualles and money, which was then nere spent; and partely for that he hoped of better ayde of the Londonors than he had before, if he might come to that part of the cetye.

[a] This passage was inserted after the first writing. Stowe states that Harper deserted Wyat (a second time, for he did so before at Rochester,) and came to the court to report his approach.

Some saide his entent was to have been in London, yf he had coulde, before daye; but hering that the erle of Pembroke was come into the feldes, he stayed at Knightesbridge untyll daye, wher his men being very wery with travel of that night and the daye before, and also partely feble and faynte, having receyved small sustenance since ther comyng out of Southwarke, rested.

The quenes scout, apon his retourne to the court, declared their coming to Brainforde, which subden newes was so fearefull that therwith the quene and all the court was wonderfully affryghted. Dromes went thoroughe London at iiij. of the clocke, warninge all soldears to arme themselves and to repaire to Charing crosse. The quene was once determyned to come to the Tower furthwith, but shortelie after she sende worde she would tarry ther to se the uttermost. Mayny thought she wolde have ben in the felde in person.

Here was no small a-dowe in London, and likewise the Tower made great preparation of defence. By x. of the clocke, or somewhat more, the erle of Penbroke had set his troopp of horsemen on the hill in the higheway above the new brige over against saynct James; his footemen was sett in ij. battailles somewhat lower, and nerer Charing crosse. At the lane turning downe by the brike wall from Islington-warde he had sett also certayn other horsemen, and he had planted his ordenance apon the hill side. In the meane season Wyat and his company planted his ordenance apon the hill beyonde sainct James, almost over agaynst the park corner; and himself, after a fewe words spoken to his soldears, came downe[a] the olde lane on foote, hard by the courte gate at saincte James's, with iiij. or v. auncyentes; his men marching in goode array. Cutbart

[a] "And so came that daye toar (toward) Saint James felde, where as was the erle of Pembroke the quenes leftenant, and my lorde prevy seale [the earl of Bedford], and my lord Paget, and my lord Clynton, which was lord marshall of the campe, with dyvars oder lordes on horseback; which lord Clynton ghawe the charge with the horsemen by the parke corner, which was aboute xij. of the clocke that daye, and Wyat so passed hym selve with a smalle company, toar Charryng crosse, and so toar Flet streate," &c. MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 15,215, p. 40.

Vaughan, and about ij. auncyentes, turned downe towards Westminster. The erle of Pembroke's horsemen hoveryd all this while without moving, untyll all was passed by, saving the tayle, upon which they dyd sett and cut of. The other marched forwarde, and never stayed or retourned to the ayde of their tayle. The greate ordenaunce shott of fresly on bothe sydes. Wyat's ordenance overshott the troope of horsemen. The quenes ordenance one pece struck iij. of Wyat's companye[a] in a ranck, apon ther hedes, and, sleying them, strake through the wall into the parke. More harme was not done by the great shott of neither partie. The quenes hole battayle of footemen standing stille, Wyat passed along by the wall towardes Charing crosse, wher the saide horsemen that wer ther sett upon parte of them, but were soone forced backe.

At Charinge crosse ther stoode the lorde chamberlayne,[b] with the garde and a nomber of other, almost a thousande persons, the whiche, upon Wyat's coming, shott at his company, and at last fledd to the court gates, which certayn pursued, and forced them with shott to shyt the court gates against them. In this repulse the said lord chamberlayn and others were so amased that men cryed Treason! treason! in the court, and had thought that the erle of Penbroke, who was assayling the tayle of his enemeys, had gon to Wyat, taking his part agaynst the quene. There should ye have seene runninge and cryenge of ladyes and gentyll women, shyting of dores, and such a scryking and noyse as yt was wonderfull to here.

The said Wyat, with his men, marched still forwarde, all along to Temple barre, also thoroghe Fleete street, along tyll he cam to Ludgate, his men going not in eny goode order or array. It is saide

[a] It is possible these were the very three men whose burial is thus recorded in the register of Saint Margaret's, Westminster:—

1553. Feb.
The viij[th] day Edmonde Pyrry, Joh'n Sympson, Anthony Adamson } souldyars w[t] Wyat.

[b] Sir John Gage.

that in Fleet street certayn of the lorde treasurer's band, to the nomber of CCC. men,[a] mett theym, and so going on the one syde passyd by theym coming on the other syde without eny whit saying to theym. Also this is more strandge: the saide Wyat and his compony passyd along by a great company of harnessyd men, which stoode on bothe sydes, without eny withstandinge them, and as he marched forwarde through Fleet street, moste with theire swords drawne, some cryed "Queene Mary hath graunted our request, and geven us pardon." Others said, "The quene hathe pardoned us." Thus Wyat cam even to Ludgate, and knockyd calling to come in, saying, there was Wyat, whome the quene had graunted their requestes; but the lorde William Howard standing at the gate, saide, "Avaunt, traytour! thou shalt not come in here." And then Wyat awhill stayed, and, as some say, rested him apon a seate (at) the Bellsavage gate; at last, seing he coulde not come in, and belike being deceaved of the ayde which he hoped out of the cetye, retourned backe agayne in arraye towards Charing crosse, and was never stopped tyll he cam to Temple barre, wher certayn horsemen which cam from the felde met them in the face; and then begann the fight agayne to waxe hote, tyll an heralde[b] saide to maister Wyat, "Sir, ye were best by my counsell to yelde. You see this day is gon agaynst you, and in resysting ye can get no goode, but be the death of all theis your souldears, to your greate perill of soule. Perchaunce ye may fynde the quene mercyfull, and the rather yf ye stint so greate a bloudshed as ys like here to be." Wyat herewith being somewhat astonished (although he sawe his men bent to fyght it out to the death), said, "Well, yf I shall needs yelde, I will yelde me to a gentyllman;" to whom sir Morice Barkeley cam straight up, and bayd him lepe up behinde him; and another toke Thomas Cobham and William Knevet; and so caryed them behind

[a] *Stowe adds*, whereof the lord Chidioke Powlet, his sonne, was captaine.

[b] *Stowe inserts the name* Clarentius, *i. e.* Thomas Hawley. Machyn (p. 54) says that Wyat "yielded unto master Norroy, the harold of armes, in his cote of armes." In that case he was William Harvey, who subsequently became Clarenceux in 1557.

theym upon their horses to the courte. Then was taking of men on all sydes. It is saide that in this conflyct one pikeman, setting his backe to the wall at sainct James, kept xvij. horsemen of him a great tyme, and at last was slayne. At this battell was slayne in the felde, by estymacion, on both sydes, not past xl^{ty} persons, as far as could be lerned by certayne that viewed the same; but ther was many sore hurt; and some thincke ther was many slayne in houses. The noys of women and children, when the conflyct was at Charing crosse, was so great and shirle, that yt was harde to the toppe of the White tower; and also the great shot was well deserned ther out of sainct James felde. Ther stood apon the leddes there the lorde marques,[a] sir Nicholas Poyns, sir Thomas Pope, master John Seamer, and other. From the battayle when one cam and brought worde that the quene was like to have the victory, and that the horsemen had dyscomfyted the tayle of his enemyes, the lorde marques for joye gave the messenger x^{s} in golde, and fell in great rejoysing.

Note, that when Wyat was perceaved to be comen to Ludgate, and the maire and his brethren herde therof, thinkyng all had not gon well with the quenes syde, they were moche amased, and stoode as men half out of ther lyves, and many hollowe hartes rejoysed in London at the same.

At v. of the clock this Wyat, William Knevet, Thomas Cobbam, the lorde Cobbam's son, ij. brethren named the Mantelles, and Alexander Bret, wer brought by maister Jernyngham, vichamberleyn, by water to the Tower as prysoners; wher sir Phillip Deny receyved them at the bullwark; and as Wyat passed by he said, "Go, traytour! There was never suche a traytour in Ingland!" To whom this Wyat tourned, and said, "I am no traytour. I wolde thou should well knowe, thou art more traytour then I; and it is not the part of an honest man to call me so;" and so went fourth. When he came to the Tower gate the levtenant[b] toke in first Mantell through the wicket, and toke him by the boysome, and

[a] Of Northampton. [b] Sir John Brydges.

shaked him, and said "Ah! thou traytour! What wickednes hast thou and thy company wrought!" But he, holdyng doune his hed, said nothinge. Then came Thomas Knevet, whom maister Chamberlayne, gentyllman porter of the Tower, toke by the collar very roughlie. Then cam Alexander Bret, whom sir Thomas Pope toke by the boysome, sayinge, "Ohe traytor! how couldest thou finde in thine hart to worke suche vyllany, as to takinge (the queen's) wages, and, beinge trusted over a bande of men, to fall to hir enemye, returninge agaynst hir in battaile?" Bret answered, "Yea, I have offended in the case by all this." Then came Thomas Cobham, whom sir Nicholas[a] Poines toke by the bosome, and said, "Alas, maister Cobham, what wynde headed you to worke suche treason?" And he answered, "Oh, sir! I was seduced." Then came in sir Thomas Wyat, who sir John of Bridges toke by the coller in most rygorouse maner, and saide theis or moche-like wordes, "Ohe! thou villayn and unhappie traytour! howe couldest thou finde in thine hart to worke suche detestable treason to the quenes maiestie, who beinge thie moste graciouse soverayn ladie, gave the thie lyfe and lyvinge once alredy, although thowe dydest before this tyme beare armes in the felde agaynst hir? and nowe to make suche a great and moste traytorous stirre, yelding hir battayle, to hir mervellouse troble and fryght. And yf yt was not (saith he) that the lawe must justly passe apon thee, I wolde strike thee throughe with my dagger." And in so saying, havinge one hand apon the coller of the said maister Wyat, and the other on his dagger, shaked his bossome; to whom Wyat made no answer, but holdinge his armes under his side, and looking grevously with a grym looke upon the saide livetenant, saide, "Yt is no maistery nowe." And so they passyd on.

This Wyat had on a shert of mayll with sleves very fayre, and theron a velvett cassoke, and an yellowe lace, with the windelesse of his dag hanging theron, and a payre of botes and sporres on his legges; on his hedd he had a faire hat of velvet with broade bonneworke lace about it.

[a] *Stowe copied this name incorrectly* Thomas.

William Knevet had also a shert of maile and a velvet cote; so had Thomas Cobham and Brett.

John Harrington[a] and maister Smethwick brought to pryson.

The morowe and the next daie following were brought to the Tower as prisoners, George Cobham, sir William Cobham, Anthony Knevett, Hughe Boothe, Thomas Vayn, Robert Rudestone, sir George Harper, Edwarde Wiat, Edwarde Fog, George More, and Cutbert Vaughan; which Cuthbert Vaughan being a very handsome man, maister Thomas Bridges, at his entry into the Tower gate, dyd wonderfully reproche him, calling him ranc traytor, and saide that hanging, drawing, and quartering was too goode for him. To whom this Vaughan made aunswer very soberlie, with stoute corage, saying, "I praie God, sir, to sende you charyty; and I wolde you and all men knewe yt, I am as true a mayne to the quenes majestie and the comonwealthe as eny man that I shall here leve behinde me; and as to deathe, I do not moche care, I am allredy determyned to dye." And with that they went forewarde.

On satersday, being the xth of February, the erle of Huntington, and other gentyllmen, to the nomber of CCC. horse, brought into

[a] This was the father of sir John Harington, whose literary remains have been published under the title of Nugæ Antiquæ. In that work (Park's edit. 1804), in vol. i. p. 63, will be found a letter of Harington expostulating with bishop Gardyner, "Why, my good lorde, (he says,) must I be thus annoyde for one deed of speciale good wyll to the ladie Elizabethe, in bearynge a letter as was sente from one that had such ryghte to gyve mee his commande [qu. the duke of Suffolk?] and to one that had such ryghte to all myne hartie sarvyce." His wife was servant to the lady Elizabeth. In vol. ii. pp. 332, 333, of the same collection, are two poems which Mr. Harington wrote during his imprisonment, and at p. 70, a third addressed to the bishop. See also sir John Harington's biographical memoir of Gardyner for a passage, the substance of which is repeated in a letter written by sir John Harington to Henry prince of Wales in 1606: "I may truly say this prelate (Gardyner) did persecute me before I was born; for my father was, by his command, imprisoned in the Tower for eleven months, for only carrying a letter to the princess Elizabeth, and my mother was taken from his presence, and obliged to dwell with Mr. Topcliff as a heretic. My poor father did send many petitions to the bishop, but in vain, as he expended one thousand pounds to get his liberty. Nor had they any comfort but their consciences to beguile this affliction, and the sweet wordes and sweeter deeds of their mistress and fellow prisoner."

the Tower as prisonners the duke of Suffolke and the lorde John Graye, from Coventry, wher he had remaned a iij. dayies after his taking, in the house and custody of Christofer Waren, alderman ther.

On sondaie the xj[th] daie of February the bushope of Winchester preached in the chappell before the quene, beginning at iij. of the clocke with *exhortemur*, the vj[th] chapter of the second epistell to the Corinthians; wherin he treated first, that man had free will; next, that Lent was necessarilie appoynted by the churche for christen men; thirdelie, that workes weare a meane or waie to heaven, and therby the soner we might obtayne the fruycion of our redeptyon by Christ; fourthelye, that the preachers for the vij. yeres last past, by deviding of wordes, and other their owne addycions, had brought in many errours detestable unto the church of Christe; fifthelie and lastlie, he axed a boone of the quenes highnes that like as she had before tyme extended hir mercy, partyculerly and privatlie, so thoroughe her lenyty and gentylnes moche conspyracye and open rebellion was growen, according to the proverbe *nimia familiaritas parit contemptum;* which he brought then in for the purpose that she wolde nowe be mercyfull to the body of the comonwealth, and conservation therof, which coulde not be unlesse the rotten and hurtfull members therof were cutt off and consumed. And thus he ended soone after; wherby all the audyence dyd gather ther should shortly followe sharpe and cruell execution. Note, he prayed for king Edwarde the vj[th] in his sermon, and for the soules departed.[a]

This daie sir Harry Isley, who was late fled, was brought to the Tower as prysoner in an olde friese cote and an olde payre [of] hose, all his apparrell not worthe by estymacion iiij s. The same daie cam in also as prysoners two of the Culpepers, one Cromer, and Thomas Rampton the duke of Suffolkes secretarie.

The monday, being the xij[th] of Februarie, about ten of the clocke, ther went out of the Tower to the scaffolde on Tower hill, the lorde

[a] This sermon is noticed by Foxe, Actes and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 113.

Guilforde Dudley, sone to the late duke of Northumberland, husbande to the lady Jane Grey, daughter to the duke of Suffolke, who at his going out tooke by the hande sir Anthony Browne, maister John Throgmorton, and many other gentyllmen, praying them to praie for him; and without the bullwarke Offeley[a] the sheryve receyved him and brought him to the scaffolde, where, after a small declaration, having no gostlye father[b] with him, he kneeled downe and said his praiers; then holding upp his eyes and handes to God many tymes;[c] and at last, after he had desyred the people to pray for him, he laide himselfe along, and his hedd upon the block, which was at one stroke of the axe taken from him.

Note, the lorde marques[d] stode upon the Devyl's towre, and sawe the executyon. His carcas throwne into a carre, and his hed in a cloth, he was brought into the chappell within the Tower, wher the ladye Jane, whose lodging was in Partrige's house, dyd see his ded carcase taken out of the cart, aswell as she dyd see him before on lyve going to his deathe,—a sight to hir no lesse[e] then death.[f]

By this tyme was ther a scaffolde made upon the grene over agaynst the White tower, for the saide lady Jane to die apon. Who with hir husband was appoynted to have ben put to deathe the fryday before, but was staied tyll then, for what cause is not knowen, unlesse yt were because hir father was not then come into the Tower. The saide lady, being nothing at all abashed, neither with feare of

[a] Sir Thomas Offley; see note in Machyn's Diary, p. 353.

[b] He had probably refused the attendance of a Roman Catholic priest, and was not allowed one of his own choice.

[c] *Misread by Stowe* with teares.

[d] The marquess of Northampton.

[e] no lesse *in MS., not* worse *as given by Stowe and Holinshed.*

[f] "Great pitie was it for the casting awaye of that fayre Ladye, whome nature had not onely so bewtified, but God also had endewed with singuler gyftes and graces, so that she plantly receaved that which other wittingly devised and offred unto her.

"And in like manner that comely, vertuous, and goodly gentleman the lorde Gylford Dudley most innocently was executed, whom God had endowed with suche vertues, that all those that never before the tyme of his execution saw hym, dyd with lamentable teares bewayle his death." Grafton's Abridgment, 1563.

her owne death, which then approached, neither with the sight of the dede carcase of hir husbande, when he was brought in to the scaffell, cause fourthe, the levetenaunt leding hir, in the same gown wherin she was arrayned, hir countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moysted with teares, although her ij. gentylwomen, mistress Elizabeth Tylney and mistress Elevn, wonderfully wept, with a boke in hir hande, wheron she praied all the way till she cam to the saide scaffolde, wheron when she was mounted, &c.

So far, our Diarist's narrative of this judicial tragedy has been adopted, somewhat abridged, by Stowe and Holinshed. The latter chronicler then proceeds thus (copying Grafton), "Whereon when she was mounted, this noble young ladie, as she was indued with singular gifts both of learning and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as any lambe at hir execution, and a little before hir death uttered these words," (then giving her address to the people assembled). Whether our Diarist's conclusion, "when she was mounted, &c." was intended to lead on to some other paper, written by himself or another, it is impossible to decide; but it seems not very improbable that he was also the writer of the account of the lady Jane's execution, which begins with the same words, and which was originally published in a small black-letter pamphlet [a] entitled,

The Ende of the lady Jane Dudley, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, upon the scaffolde, at the houre of her death.

First, when she mounted upon the scaffolde, she sayd to the people standing thereabout: "Good people, I am come hether to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the same. The facte, in dede, against the quenes highnesse was unlawfull, and the consenting thereunto by me:[b] but touching the procurement and desyre therof by me or on my halfe, I doo wash my handes thereof in innocencie, before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day," and therewith

[a] This is here copied from a reprint edited by the Rev. John Brand in the 13th volume of the Archæologia. I have not been able to find a copy of the original. It was incorporated into the narratives of Grafton and Foxe, with some variations, which will be noticed in the ensuing notes.

[b] Holinshed has amplified this into the following more explicit statement: "My offence agaynst the queenes highnesse was onely in consent to the device of other, which nowe is deemed treason; but it was never my seeking, but by counsell of those who shoulde seeme to have further understanding of things than I, which knewe little of the lawe, and much lesse of the tytles to the crowne."

she wrong her handes, in which she had hir booke. Then she sayd, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to beare me witnesse that I dye a true Christian woman, and that I looke to be saved by none other meane, but only by the mercy of God in the merites of the blood of his only sonne Jesus Christ: and I confesse, when I dyd know the word of God I neglected the same, loved my selfe and the world, and therefore this plague or punyshment is happely and worthely happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his goodnesse that he hath thus geven me a tyme and respet to repent. And now, good people, while I am alyve, I pray you to assyst me with your prayers."[a] And then, knelyng downe, she turned to Fecknam,[b] saying, "Shall I say this psalme?" And he said, "Yea." Then she said the psalme of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout maner, to the end. Then she stode up, and gave her maiden mistris Tilney[c] her gloves and handkercher, and her book to maister Bruges,[d] the lyvetenantes brother; forthwith she untyed her gown.

[a] Another report of "lady Jane Dudley's speech on the scaffold," somewhat more verbose but not so impressive, is printed in Nicolas's Remains, &c. p. 52.

[b] This circumstance, that Feckenham (the new dean of St. Paul's) was attendant upon her, is suppressed by Grafton, but preserved by Foxe.

[c] Altered by Grafton, &c. to "her mayden (called mystresse Eleyn)"—that is, her other female attendant.

[d] Grafton altered this "to mayster Bruges, then lieutenant of the Tower;" and Foxe says, "maister Bruges" only. The book is supposed to have been the same manual of English prayers which is now preserved in the British Museum as the MS. Harl. 2342; and which contains the three following notes, the two former it will be perceived addressed to the duke of Suffolk, and the last to sir John Brydges:—

"Your lovyng and obedyent son wischethe unto your grace long lyfe in this world, with as muche joye and comforte as ever I wyshte to my selfe, and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son tel his death. G. Duddeley.

"The Lorde comforte your grace, and that in his worde, whearin all creatures onlye are to be comforted. And thoughe it hathe pleased God to take away ij. of your children, yet thincke not, I most humblye beseach your grace, that you have loste them, but truste that we, by leasinge this mortall life, have wunne an immortal life. And I for my parte, as I have honoured your grace in this life, wyll praye for you in another life. Youre gracys humble doughter, Jane Duddeley.

"Forasmutche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthye a

The hangman went to her to help her of therewith; then she desyred him to let her alone, turning towardes her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therwith, and also with her frose paast[a] and neckercher, geving to her a fayre handkercher to knytte about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled downe, and asked her forgevenesse, whome she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the strawe: which doing, she sawe the block. Then she sayd,

booke, good mayster lieuftenaunte, therefore I shall as a frende desyre you, and as a christian require you, to call uppon God to encline your harte to his lawes, to quicken you in his waye, and not to take the worde of trewethe utterlye oute of youre mouthe. Lyve styll to dye, that by deathe you may purchase eternall life, and remembre howe the ende of Mathusael, whoe, as we reade in the scriptures, was the longeste liver that was of a manne, died at the laste: for, as the precher sayethe, there is a tyme to be borne, and a tyme to dye; and the daye of deathe is better than the daye of oure birthe. Youres, as the Lorde knowethe, as a frende, JANE DUDDELEY."

These passages (fac-similes of the first and last of which are engraved in "Autographs of Remarkable Persons," 4to. 1829, pl. 19) were evidently written very shortly before the execution of the noble pair, as is shown by an expression in the lady Jane's address to her father; and there is every probability in sir Harris Nicolas's conjecture that this book was employed as the messenger to convey these assurances of duty and affection, when personal intercourse was denied. The duke of Suffolk was brought back to the Tower only two days before his daughter's decapitation, and it is possible that she was spared the additional pain of knowing how imminent his fate also was. From the passage addressed to the lieutenant, it would further appear that the book, "so worthye a booke," already belonged to him; if, therefore, it is the same which the lady Jane carried with her to the scaffold, she would place it in the hands of "maister Brydges" (whether the lieutenant or his brother) as returning it to its owner. In some accounts of the lady Jane's last moments it will be found stated that she gave a book to sir John Gage; this error, into which Mr. Howard in his Memoir has fallen, arises merely from a confusion of the constable with the lieutenant of the Tower, sir John Gage having been erroneously named as the lieutenant in the description of the manual in the Catalogue of the Harleian MSS. This interesting relic is a small square vellum book, now in modern binding.

[a] Sir Harris Nicolas (p. xci.) states that, after having taken considerable pains to ascertain the meaning of the article here named, he was inclined to coincide with a literary friend who suggested "Fronts-piece." Foxe, however, has it spelt "frowes past," which is probably "frow's paste," or matronly head-dress: the paste being a head attire worn by brides, as explained in the glossarial index to Machyn's Diary, p. 463. The term was thought probably too familiar, if not inapplicable, by Grafton, who altered it in his chronicle to "her other attyres."

"I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Wil you take it of before I lay me downe?" and the hangman answered her, "No, madame." She tyed the kercher about her eys; then feeling for the blocke, saide, "What shall I do? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guyding her therunto, she layde her heade down upon the block, and stretched forth her body and said: "Lorde, into thy hands I commende my spirite!" And so she ended.

---

[a] The same day, within half an hower after, was broght into the Tower as prisoner, by the lorde chamberlayne and CC. of the garde, the earle of Devonshire, or lorde Courtney, by water, who as he passed by said to the levetenaunt, belik who axed him the cause of his thither comyng, "Truly, I cannot tell, except I shoulde accuse myselfe; lett the worlde judge." This moche was herde by him then spoken.

This day was ther set upp at every gate of London a galouse, and at the brige-fote one, in Southwarke ij. paire, at Leaden-hall one, ij. in Chepeside, in Fleetestrete and about Charing crosse iij. or foure paire, and in many other places about the city.[b] In Kent also, and many places more, ther was raysed gallowes, a great sorte. That day and on thursday there was condempnyd of the rebelles to the nombre of CCCC. or thereaboutes. All the prisons of London was so full that the(y) were fayne to keep the poorest sort, by iiij^{xx}. on a hepp, in churches. On wednysday following was hanged in sondery places of the cytey to the nombre of xxvj^{te} or more. On thursday, in Southwarke, and other places of the subburbes, ther was hanged a greate nombre; this day, being the xvth of February, ther was x. prysoners out of the Tower arrayned and caste, whose names doe followe. *(The names were not added.)*

Yt was saide that Brett should saie, and Vaughan, at their arayngment, that they ought to have their lives according to the lawe, for,

[a] MS. f. 29. [b] See a full catalogue of these horrors in Machyn's Diary, p. 55.

said Brett, "Ther was promised a pardon to me and my companie, by an heralde in the felde, or els I wolde never have yelded, but dyed presentlie; and if the quenes pardon promised by a herald, which in the felde is as hir owne mouth, be of no value or auctorytye, then the Lord have mercy apon us!" The like was alledged by Cut Vaughan, who as yt is reported said moreover to the lorde William Poulet, lorde highe treasorer, sytting ther, (and who) gave sentence, "Yt forceth not, my lorde, sayeth we shall go before, and you shall not be long after us."[a]

Satersday the xvij[th] daie of Februarie the duke of Suffolke was caried to Westminster and there arrayned, being fetched from the Tower by the clerke of the cheke and all the garde almoste; who at his going out went out very stoutely and cherfully enough, but (at) his coming here he landed at the water gate with a countenance very hevy and pensyfe, desyring all men to praye for him. (The lorde Courtney, lying in the Bell tower, sawe him both outwarde and innwarde.)

[b]Yt is saide, the erle of Arundell sitting apon him in judgement, he shoulde saye that yt was no treason for a pere of the realme as he was to raise his power and make proclamacion onely to avoyde strangers out of the realme; and therapon he axed the sergeantes standing by whether yt was not soo or no, which they being abashed, they could not say yt was treason by eny lawe. Then yt was laidd to his chardge he mett with CC. men the quenes levetenaunt in armes, being the erle of Huntingdon, which was treason agaynst the quene, forasmuch as the saide levetenant represented hir own person. To the which he made answer that he knewe not the saide erle to be no such levetenant. "But," saith he, "I met him indede but with fyftye men or ther aboutes, and wolde not have shronken from him

[a] The word "sayeth" is apparently sith, or since; and Vaughan's intention seems to have been to pass a reflection on the old age of his judge, and his consequent impending death. If so, he was much mistaken in his anticipations, as the lord treasurer lived for one and twenty years after, to the age of ninety-seven.

[b] MS. f. 69.

yf I had had fewer." And by theis wordes he confessed himself gilty of treason. Moreover he partelie accused his brother the lorde Thomas, who he saide had perswaded him rather to flye into his country then to abyd, saying, that "yt was to be feared he shoulde be put agayn into the Tower; where being in his countrey, and emongst frendes and tenauntes, who durst fetch hime?"

[Further] towching the other artycles laide to his charge, he said, that he never knewe eny thing therof, saving that once he shold say at his table over his supper that he wolde undertake, for nede, onely with C. gentylmen, to sett the crowne apon Courteney's hedd; and so he was condempned and brought back to the Tower agayn.

The same daie the quene sett out a proclamacion[a] that all straungers not borne within hir highnes domynions shoulde, within xxiiij. daies after the saide proclamacion, avoide the realme, fredeynses,[b] merchauntes known, and the servauntes of enbasadors onely excepted, apon payn of forfeiture of all their goodes, with imprysonment of ther bodyes, and ther lyves at the quenes plesure, as in the saide proclamacion apperith at lardge.

This daye, or the morow following, Alexander Brett, with xx. other prysoners, wer caried down towardes Kent by the sheryve to executyon. This Brett at his going out of the Tower embraced maister Chamberlayn the gentyllman porter, and desyred him to commend him to sir Thomas Wyat. Then praying all men to pray for him, he saide, "And I am wourthie of no lesse punishement then I do nowe go to suffer, for besyde myn offence I refused lyfe and grace iij. tymes when yt was offeryd; but I trust God dyd all for the

[a] A copy of this proclamation is given by Foxe, its principal object having been to compel the congregations of Dutch, French, and other foreign Protestants, who had taken refuge in England during the reign of Edward VI., to quit the country. It describes the parties intended as "all and every such person or persons borne out of her highnesse' dominions, now commorant or resident within this realme, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever other calling else, not being denizen," &c. (as in the text.) Among those who took refuge in Germany were many French Protestants; see letter of Simon Renard in Tytler, ii. 312.

[b] Free-denizens.

best for me, that my soule might repent, and therby after this lyfe (attain) to the more mercy and grace in his sight." And so he went onwarde.

On sondaye the xviijth day of Februarie ther cam in as prisoner one (*blank*)

The same day there was proclamacyon made in Chepesyde by a trompeter, that yf eny man had eny of the saide rebells, or knewe wher they were, shoulde bringe theym unto the Marshalsee, or elles yf they were hurt, sicke, or colde not come in persons, their names shoulde be brought to the Mershelsee the morrowe followinge, apon payne of dysp(leasure?)

Mondaye the xixth daie of Februarie ther went out to be arrayned at Westminster sir William Cobham, master George Cobham, Thomas Cobham, all being the lorde Cobham's sonnes, (*blank*) Wyat, (*a blank space follows*) of the which cam home uncondemned sir William Cobham and George Cobham, som say as repried; the rest being condempned to dye.

This daye a nomber of the erle of Pembroke's men and soldears, to the nomber of CCC. in armour, and array, with their dromes, cam upp Foster lane; whether they wer goinge to was not knowen.

About this tyme ther went a tale that ther had ben a skyrmysh betwen the Scotes and Inglyshemen in the north partyes, and that the Frenchmen had skirmyshed with some of the soldyars at Guynes. Yt was said allso that the Frenchmen had made a trench before Guynes; and that the lorde Graye wrate therof to the quene, desyring to have some soldyars,[a] parte of siche as were condempned to be hanged.

Ther was also a saing at this tyme that the Frenche kinge, who indede had prepared a great navy apon the sea, to met, as yt was thought, the prince of Spayn, had surrenderyd his tytell of the crown of France to his son, meanyng with all his power in person to be admyrall of his shipes on the sea for the viadge aforesayd.

At this tyme, or a litle before, the ladye Elysabeth was sent for of

[a] *Some words not legible are here written above the line.*

the quene by sir John Williams, with a great nomber of men, to com upp from *(blank)*, about xxvij. miles from London, to the court immedyatly.[a] And she saying she was very sicke, desyred the said sir John Williams to depart, and that she wolde most willinglye, in as spedy a manner as she coulde for her sicknes, repayre to the quenes highnes with hir owne company and folkes onely. Many men dyversly thought of hir sending for.

Tuesday the xx[th] of February the lorde John Graye rode to Westminster, who having the goot could not go on foote, to be arrayned; whence he cam about ij. of the clock agayn to the Tower, condempned to dye.

This daie was maister William Thomas, late clerke of the counsell, brought into the Tower as prysonner; so was maister Winter and sir Nicholas Throgmorton the same night.

Wednesday the xxj[th] of Februarie was brought into the Tower as prysoners out of the country sir James Croftes, the lorde Thomas Gray, and ij. other; the one a spie, the other a post.[b]

Fridaie the xxiij[th] of Februarie, an[o] 1553, the duke of Suffolke was behedded at Tower hille. His wourdes at the comyng on the scaffolde were theis followeing, or moche like: "Good people, this daie I am come hether to dye, being one whom the lawe hathe justlie condempned, and one who hathe no lesse deserved for my dysobedyence against the quenes highenes, of whom I do moste humbly

[a] The name of sir John Williams is here a mistake for the lord William Howard. Three councillors were sent to bring the lady Elizabeth up from Ashridge, lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwaleys: see Tytler, vol. ii. pp. 424 et seq. and Miss Strickland's memoir of Elizabeth. In the circumstantial but not very accurate narrative of the lady Elizabeth's troubles, printed at the end of the third volume of Foxe's Actes and Monuments, the name of sir Richard Southwell is erroneously placed in the room of lord William Howard.

[b] "21 Feb. Richard Mitton esquire, (sheriff of Shropshire,) brought this daye upp the lord Thomas Graye, Richarde Piddocke, and Robarte Drake, delivered unto him by indenture berynge date the xv. day of Februarye by the lord presydent and counsell of Wales; who were comited to the Tower. Sir James Crofts knight was in lyke manner delyvered by the said master Mitton, and brought upp by him and comytted to the Tower." Register of the Privy Council.

axe forgevenes, and I truste she dothe and will forgyve me." Then maister Weston, his confessor, standing by, saide, "My lorde, hir grace hathe allredy forgeven [a] and praieth for you." Then saide the duke, "I beseche you all, goode people, to lett me be an example to you all for obedyence to the quene and the majestrates, for the contrarie therof hath brought me [to this end [b]]. And also I shall most hartely desire you all to beare me witnes that I do dye a faythefull and true christian, beleving to be saved by non other but onely by allmightie God, thoroughe the passion of his son Jesus Christ.[c] And nowe I pray you to praie with me." Then he kneled downe, and Weston with him, and saide the sallme of "*Miserere mei Deus*," and "*In te, Domine, speravi*," the duke one verse and Weston an other. Which don, he dyd put of his gown and his doblet. Then kniting the kercheve himself about his eyes, helde uppe his handes to heaven, and after laie downe along, with his hedd apon the blocke, whiche at one stroke was striken of by the hangman.

This daie ther was housellyd Cutbert Vaughan, Houghe Boothe, and other.

[a] "With that, divers of the standers by said with meetly good and audible voice, 'Such forgivenesse God send thee!' meaning doctoure Weston." Foxe.

[b] So in Stowe's Chronicle.

[c] Foxe's account of "the godly end" of the duke of Suffolk is supported in all important points by the present writer. They coincide as to his distinct expression of reliance on the Protestant faith: but whilst the duke is here described as joining with the attendant priest (Hugh Weston, successively dean of Westminster and of Windsor), in the repetition of the psalm *Miserere*, Foxe represents him as having twice endeavoured to prevent Weston from ascending the stairs of the scaffold with him. Both circumstances, however, may have occurred. It is at least certain that, whatever may have been the ordinary weakness of Suffolk's character, he was as constant in religion as his heroic daughter could have desired, though subjected to the like zealous attempts which she had endured, and which were successful over the loose principles of the duke of Northumberland and many others at this period of trial. This fact is confirmed by the following passage of a letter of Simon Renard to the emperor, dated the 24th Feb.: "Ce jourduy l'on execute le duc de Suffocq, *qui ne s'est jamais voulu reconnoistre quant a la religion*; aiant fait admonestement au peuple pour non se revolter contre la royne, à laquelle il demandoit mercy." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 309.

[d] These men were probably among those who were reconciled to the church of Rome.

Satersdaie the xxiiijth daie of Februarie was brought into the Tower as prysoner sir Nicholas Arnolde knight,[a] sir Edwarde Rogers,[b] and one master Doynett, &c.

This daie Thomas Rampton, a prysoner, and the late duke of Suffolkes secretarie, was caried into the country to Coventry, ther to be arained and to suffer death.

Sondaie the xxvth of Februarye was brought into the Tower prysoner sir William Seinctlowe,[c] a man that cam in with a wounderfull stoute corage, nothing at all abashed.

This daie, and all the senyght and more before, ther sat in counsell in the Tower, apon the examynation of the prisonners, sir Robert Southewell,[d] sir Thomas Pope, and others.

About this tyme was the first bruit that the queene wolde kepe the terme and parliament at Oxforde.

The xxvjth of Februarye William Thomas had almost slayn himself the nighte before, with thrusting himself under the pappes with a knife.

Foxe has inserted in his great work a paper written by Walter Mantell the elder, another of the Kentish prisoners, relating the several attempts made on his faith by three priests, Bourne, Weston, and Mallet, and defending himself from the suspicion of having consented to hear mass. It is dated the 2d of March, which seems to have been immediately before his execution in Kent (see p. 66).

[a] Sir Nicholas Arnold was compromised by Wyat having named him as the person to whom William Thomas "first brake" his project of assassinating the queen. He was detained in the Tower until the 18th Jan. following. In 1556 he was again a prisoner there (see Machyn's Diary, p. 104.)

[b] Holinshed and Foxe erroneously say sir John Rogers. Sir Edward was named by sir Thomas Wyat as having brought him a message from the earl of Devonshire. He also was discharged on the 18th Jan. 1554-5. Queen Elizabeth, on her accession, made him vice-chamberlain and captain of her guard, and in 1560 comptroller of the household, and he died holding the latter office in 1565.

[c] Foxe states that sir William Sentlow had been "committed as prisoner to the master of the horse" on the previous day. See other particulars of his imprisonment in the Rev. Joseph Hunter's memoirs of him, Retrospective Review, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 319; also the letter written by the counsellors above named directing his arrest, in Tytler, ii. 314.

[d] This is a mistake for sir Richard Southwell. Renard abuses him very much as decidedly a secret partisan of Courtenay: Tytler, ii. 338.

The same daie ther cam into the Tower one master *(blank)* Medley, brother in lawe to the duke of Suffolk.[a]

Wenisdaie the xxviij[th] daie of Februarye, 1553, Anthonye Knevett, William Knevett, sir Harry Isley and his cosen, the ij. Mantelles, George More, and Cuthbert Vaughan, went downe by water in a bardge towarde Kent, to be putt to deathe.[b] Yt is saide that one of theym, at his going out of the Tower, aunswered to one that tooke him by the hande, and saide he was very sorie for his death, "Well, (quod he,) I thancke you therfore, but this ys God's ordenaunce, and cause ye have aswel to be sory for yourselves and your country as for me, for I now shall leave all wrechednes, and I trust by death to enter into a better lyfe; wheras you and others may lyve longer in moste troblesome trybulacions and overthrowes of this worlde, passe your dayes in cares and hevy myseryes (without God's help) which is growing over you; and yit at the last dye aswell as I, when ye shall have, by your lenger lyfe, moche more to aunswer for in Goddes sight then and yf you dyed presently with me." And with suche and lyke wourdes he departed.

This day cam master Honynges[c] in as prysoner.

Frydaye, the seconde of Marche, 1553, ther was brought into the Tower in the forenone as prysoners *(blank)*, and in the afternoone sir Gawan Carowe and master [William] Gybbes were brought out of Devonshire as prysoners into the Tower.

[a] The duke of Suffolk's mother was Margaret, daughter of sir Robert Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, and widow of William Medley.

[b] Proctor states that sir Henry Isley and Thomas Isley his brother (not cousin, as in the text), and Walter Mantell, suffered at Maidstone, where Wyat had first displayed his banner. The two Knevetts and another of the Mantells were executed at Sevenoaks. Brett was hung in chains at Rochester. "Maister Rudston and certain other" (as Vaughan, see p. 68), who were of the condemned party in the barge on the 27th February, obtained pardon; see Rudston's pardon in Rymer, xv. 373. Sir Henry Isley had been sheriff of Kent in 34 Hen. VIII. and 5 Edw. VI. as his son William was in 7 Eliz.; see his pedigree in the Topographer and Genealogist, 1846, vol. i. p. 517. Their heirs were restored in blood by act of parliament 2 Eliz.

[c] Probably William Honynges who had been one of the clerks of the signet temp. Edward VI. and of whom various particulars are collected in the Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vol. vii. pp. 394—400.

Satersday the lorde Courtney was removed out of the Bell tower into the tower over the gate.

The vth of Marche cam into the Tower as prysoner one maister John Fewilliams[a] as prysoner.

The vj[th] of Marche certayn boyes, some toke Wyates parte and some the quenes, and made a combacte in the feldes,[b] &c.

The (*blank*) day of Marche the lorde Thomas Grey, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was condempned. He alledged at the barre that as God sholde judge his soule he meant none other thing but the abolyshing of strangers,[c] and yf that were hye treason the Lorde be mercyfull, ther were no (?)

At this tyme came out the artycles to the clergye, wherin the chefest points were the supremycye to be lefte out, *auctoritate regia*, and the dysevering of maryed prestes from their wyves, &c.

Satersday the xth of Marche master Leonarde Dygges and Nayler wer brought into the Tower, out of the counter, being condemned.

[a] "My Lords, in anywise search for the lady Fitzwilliams' second son. It is a great and marvellous importing, but not hasty or now dreadful, thanks be to God!" Letter of the commissioners, 25 Feb. Tytler, ii. 314. See the charge made against him in p. 69, and his release in p. 71.

[b] This battle of "French-and-English" under a new name, was thought of sufficient importance by both the imperial and French ambassadors to be noticed in their despatches. Simon Renard says, "Some three hundred children assembled in a meadow, and divided themselves into two bands to play at the game of the Queen against Wyatt, in which several have been wounded on both sides." (Tytler, ii. 330.) Noailles states further that the boy who represented the prince of Spain being taken prisoner was hanged, and narrowly escaped strangulation. The queen ordered the ringleaders to be whipped and imprisoned for some days. (Ambassades, iii. 130.)

[c] A much deeper dye of treason is assigned to lord Thomas Grey in one of the despatches of M. de Noailles, namely, that, perceiving Courtenay's failure, he had determined to take his place, and be either king or hung. The passage is as follows: "Le duc de Suffolck ..... il s'est retiré avecques ses deulx frères, qui sont gens de plus grand esprit et conduicte que luy; et ne faicts doubte que millord Thomas, l'un d'iceulx, suyvant ce que je vous en ay, sire, faict entendre par cy-devant, ne soit bientost pour remuer mesnage; et comme celuy qui a desclairé à quelqu'un de ses amys et des miens en ces propres mots, que voyant la faulte que a faicte Courtenay, il est deliberé de tenir son lieu, qu'il fault qu'il soit roy ou pendu." Ambassades, iii. 48.

The same day was a proclamacion that the Frenche crowne and the Burgonden crowne to go for vjs. iiij*d.* and the royall vs.

Monday the xij^th^ of Merche Cutbart Vaughan was brought again out of Kent into the Tower, by the importable[a] suit of his wife.

This daye Cranmer, the bushop of Canterbury, the late bushop of London, Ridley, and maister Latemer, went out of the Tower prysoners towarde Oxforde; and out of the Fleet went Hoper[b] with theym.

The *(blank)* of Merche the bushope of Yorke[c] was at the lorde chauncellour's out of the Tower, and ther was deposed of his bushopperyke.

The same day came Strangwyshe the Rover[d] to the court, who was come from the French king, and had brought with him one shippe laden with shertes of mayle, and an other laden with other munytion, and submytted himself and all to the quenes mercy.

Wenisdaie the xiiij^th^ daie of Marche, the erle of Bedforde, lorde prevy seale, chef embassadour, and the lorde Feewater,[e] commysyonours, sett forwarde in embassed to the king of Spayne, to fetche him into the realme; the(y) went westwarde to take shipping at *(blank)*. They wer accompanyed with sir Henry Sydnye, &c.

The xv^th^ daye of Merche sir Thomas Wyat knight was arrayned at Westminster of treason and rebellyon; ther sat in comyssyon as chefe the erle of Sussex, sir Edward Hastinges, maister Bourne the secretary, &c.

After his indytement theys, or moche lyke, were his wourdes, as yt is reported. Towching the saide indytement, some parte therof he denyed, and some parte graunted: "Nowe," said he, "since I am in

[a] *So MS. perhaps for* importunate. Cuthbert Vaughan (whose handsome person has been noticed in p. 53) had distinguished himself at the siege of Leith in 1547. He was appointed by king Edward VI. master of his bears, bulls, and dogs. (Strype, Memorials.) He was released from the Tower, Jan. 18, 1554-5.

[b] Late bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.

[c] Robert Holgate.

[d] Afterwards condemned to death in 1559: see Machyn's Diary.

[e] Fitzwalter, son of the earl of Sussex. The queen's instructions for this embassy are in MS. Cotton. Vesp. C. VII. p. 198.

this place to answer for myself, I will, I trust, pourdg me of al conspyring the quenes death, wherof I am gilteles; and myne hole intent and styrre was agaynst the comyng in of strandgers and Spanyerds, and to abolyshe theym out of this realme. And as for me, thoughe I beare the name, I was but the iiijth or vth man. The erle of Devonshire wrate unto me by sir Edwarde Rogers to procede as I had begon; but towching the quenes death (saith he), I never concented. The fyrst devysour therof (he saide) was William Thomas, who brake the matter to master John Fytzwilliams, that he sholde have done the dede; this Fytzwilliams denyed the same;[a] at last he was half determyned to shewe the same to sir Nicholas Arnolde, and dyd, who moche dyscomended the facte, and tolde yt to maister Croftes,[b] who also tolde it to maister Wyat; and they bothe detesting the horryblenes of the cryme, the saide Wyate ware, under his long gowne, a great waster,[c] iiij. or v. dayes hanging at his girdell, as he saide, to beat the said William Thomas with, that he wolde have lefte him for dedd." Being axed why he concealed the same, he saide that he so dyd was because he knewe himself hable ynoughe to have corrected and restrayned master William Thomas, &c. Towching Courtney he saide that sir Edwarde Rogers went betwene Courtney and hime, and that he sente him worde to procede in the same. Towching my lady Elizabethes grace, he saide, that indede he sent hir a letter that she shoulde gett hir asfar from the cyty as she coulde, the rather for hir saftye from strangers; and she sent him worde agayn, but not in wryting, by sir William Seyntlowe, that she dyd thanke

[a] *i. e.* refused to undertake it. [b] Sir James Croft.

[c] In the full report of sir Thomas Wyat's arraignment, printed in Cobbett's State Trials, i. 362 (which is the original of that given by Holinshed, and somewhat fuller in its particulars,) the incident of the "waster" is thus more fully described: "Then made I a cudgel with a hole brent in it, with a whole iron and half a yard of ..... in it, and sought John Fitzwilliams a whole day, and could not find him. The next day, I sent the cudgel by my man, and bade him bob him well, 'for the knave is but a spy, and to utter it he durst not, and therefore be bold to beat him.' Thus my man carried the cudgel three days, to have beaten him. By this it may appear how much I abhorred that practice." (This trial, which is not in the folio collection of State Trials, is stated to have been derived from the MSS. of Sir Brereton Bourchier.)

him moche for his good will, and she wolde do as she sholde se cause, &c.

The xviij[th] of Marche,[a] being 1553, the lady Elizabethes grace, the quenes syster, was conveyed to the Tower from the court at Westminster about x[th] of the clocke in the forenoone by water; accompanying hir the merques of Northampton[b] and the erle of Sussex. Ther was at the Tower to receave hir the lord chamberlayne.[c] She was taken in at the drawebridge. Yt is saide when she came in she saide to the warders and soldears, loking up to heaven: "Ohe Lorde! I never thought to have come in here as prysoner; and I praie you

[a] It was on Palm sunday, the 18th of March, that the lady Elizabeth was brought to the Tower. It had been intended to take her there on the day before, but she having persuaded the lords to allow her to write a letter to the queen, (which letter is that printed in Sir H. Ellis's Second Series, vol. ii. p. 255,) whilst she was so doing the tide was lost which would have enabled their barge to shoot London Bridge. (See Tytler, ii. 342.) In the Harl. MS. 419, are preserved some "notes of the lady Elizabeth's troubles," which formed part of the materials of Foxe's more extended (and perhaps embellished) narrative. The reader may be glad to see the account there given of this memorable landing at the Tower, and to compare it with the equally curious account in the text. They will be found to agree in the main particulars of the princess's behaviour, though they do not report the expression of her sentiments in absolutely the same words:

"At landing she fyrst stayd and denyed to land ther, neyther well could she onles she goo over her show (shoe). The lords were goone out of the bote before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went bak agayne to her, and brought word that she would not come. Then said one of the lordes that shalbe nameles, [the lord treasurer is evidently here meant,] that she shuld not chuse. Because yt dyd then rayne, the same lord offered to her his clock, which she, puttyng yt back with her hand, refused. So she comyng out, havyng one foote upon the stayre, sayd, 'Here landeth the truest subject, being a prysonner, that ever landed at these stayres.' To whom the same lord answered agayne, that it was the better for her. At her landyng ther was a grett multitude of ther servants and warders standyng in ther order. 'What neded al this?' sayth she, 'Yt is the use,' sayth some, 'so to bee, when any prisoner came thither.' So she comyng toward the Tower, threise desyred them to beare record that [she] said 'Here cometh the truest subject that ever came ther.'" It should be added that this MS. has marks of reference, which imply that its passages were intended as insertions for a narrative previously written: which was possibly the first draft of that in Foxe.

[b] This is evidently a clerical error for Winchester, the lord treasurer. The marquess of Northampton was at this time himself a prisoner (see the next page).

[c] Sir John Gage, who was also constable of the Tower.

all, goode frendes and fellowes, bere me wytnes, that I come yn no traytour, but as true a woman to the quenes majesty as eny is nowe lyving; and theron will I take my deathe." And so going a lyttle further, she sayd to my lorde chamberlain, "What are all theis harnessyd men here for me?" and he saide, "No, madam." "Yes (she said), I knowe yt is so; yt neded not for me, being, alas! but a weak woman." Yt is saide that when she was in, the lorde trezerer and the lorde chamberlain began to lock the dores very straytlye, then the erle of Sussex, with weeping eyes,[a] saide, "What will ye doe, my lordes? What mean ye therin? She was a kinges daughter, and is the quenes syster; and ye have no sufficient commyssyon so to do; therfore go no further then your comyssyon, which I knowe what yt is."

Note, the xxiiij[th] of Marche, an° 1553, ther was lett out[b] of the Tower from emprysonment the lorde marques of Northampton, the lorde Cobham, sir William Cobham, master John Fewillyames, one master Culpepper of Bedsbery, master Henry Vane, John Harrington,[c] *(blank)* Corbett.[d]

[a] This account of the earl of Sussex's conduct is also confirmed by the anecdotes quoted in the previous note: "The satterday when she shuld (have) goone to the Tower, the old lord of Sussex sayd, that dyvers lordes ther wer of the counsail that were sory for her trouble. And as for hym, castyng his hands abroad, he sayd in great agony of hart (as it semed), that he was sory that ever he lyved to see that day."

[b] Two days after this, when the queen gave audience to the imperial ambassador, she was forced to make him many excuses for her clemency on this occasion. She stated that she had yielded to the persuasion of the commissioners employed to examine the prisoners; that it had been an immemorial custom that on Good Friday the kings of England should grant pardon to some of their prisoners; moreover, that the marquess of Northampton had returned to the old religion. Renard, however, was dissatisfied that they should have been let off so easily and so soon. See his letter in Tytler, ii. 348.

[c] From this it might be supposed that sir John Harington was mistaken in supposing that his father remained a prisoner eleven months (see p. 53). But it appears from the register of the privy council that he was not now released, for on the 24th June sir William Sentelowe, William Smethwicke, and John Harrington were ordered to be removed from the Tower to the Fleet, and in Jan. following Harington was bound to "good abearinge" in C li. previously to his release.

[d] This name should be Danett, whose committal see before in p. 65, and who is mentioned by Renard as one of the eight now released, though Mr. Tytler (ubi supra) supposed "Danet" to be the name of Daniel mis-spelt.

The first of Aprell wer created vj. bushops at Saynt Mary Ovaries, byshops of London and Wynchester, &c.[a]

Note, the iij. of Aprell the parlement began, as well at Oxforde as at Westmynster.[b]

Note, the vth of Aprell ther was taken vj great fyshes called perpose, in Sussex.

Between easter and the vij^th^ of Aprell was no notable matter, but onley chusinge offycers for the king of Spayn; the master of his horse beinge master A. Browne.[c] *(blank here.)*

The lorde of Cardyf sworne of his pryve chamber.

The same day was made sir John of Bridges lorde Shandos of Sudeley, and sir John Williams lorde [Williams of Thame, and sir Edward North baron of Catledge].

The xj^th^ of Aprell, being wenysdaye, was sir Thomas Wyat behedded upon the Tower-hill. Before his comyng downe out of the Tower, the lorde chamberlayne and the lorde Shandos[d] caryed him to the tower over the watergate, wher the lorde Courtney laye, and ther he was before Courtney half an hower and more. What was spoken ys not yet knowen.[e] Then he was brought out with a

[a] See Machyn's Diary, p. 58.

[b] *Pro forma* at Oxford, in consequence of the queen's original determination to hold it there, because of the disturbed state of the metropolis.

[c] See Machyn, p. 59.

[d] The constable and lieutenant.

[e] It was afterwards the subject of dispute, the friends of the lady Elizabeth declaring that he had fully cleared both her and Courtenay; but the court party stating that he had implored Courtenay "to confess the truth," and consequently acknowledge himself guilty. The following was a statement made by lord Chandos in the star-chamber: "My lords (quoth he), this is a truth that I shall tell you; I being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtenay; which when I had done he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's majesties mercy." Wyat, clinging to life, was evidently endeavouring to suggest further grounds for inquiry and consequent delay; and there can be no reason to discredit lord Chandos's testimony, though Foxe (vol. iii. p. 41) chose to designate it as his "false report against the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney," assuming that the character of Elizabeth was necessarily by implication aspersed, when Courtenay's guilt was intimated. It has now been ascertained by historical revelations, that Courtenay was certainly privy to the intrigues of the French and Venetian ambassadors, whilst there are strong suspicions that

boke in his hande; and at the garden pale the lorde chamberlayne tooke his leave of him, and likewise master secretarye Bourne, to whome master Wyat said: "I praie you, sir, pray for me, and be a meane to the quene for my poore wife and chilldren; and yf yt might have pleased hir grace to have granted me my lyfe I wolde have trusted to have don hir such good servyce as shold have well recompenced myne offence; but, since not, I beseche God have mercy on me." To the which master Bourne made no answer. So he cam toward the hill, Weston leading him by the one arme and the lorde Shandose by the other. When he was uppe apon the scaffolde he desired eche man to praye for him and with him, and said these or moche-like wourdes in effecte:

"Good people, I am come presently here to dye, being therunto lawfully and wourthely condempned, for I have sorely offended agaynst God and the quenes majestie, and am sorry therfore. I trust God hath forgeven and taken his mercy apon me. I besyche the quenes majesty also of forgevenes." "She hath forgeven you allredy," saith Weston. "And let every man beware howe he taketh eny thinge in hande against the higher powers. Unlesse God be prosperable to his purpose, yt will never take good effecte or successe, and therof ye may now lerne at me. And I pray God I may be the last example in this place for that or eny other like. And whereas yt is said and wysled abroade, that I shoulde accuse my lady Elizabeth's grace, and my lorde Courtney;[a] yt is not so, goode people, for I assure you neyther they nor eny other now

Elizabeth was not ignorant of them (see Tytler, ii. 320 et seq.); but no evidence has occurred to shew that Elizabeth was ever in communication with Courtenay: nor do we find that Wyat was confronted with her in the Tower, as some writers have imagined.

[a] Another statement of sir Thomas Wyat's words (which has been published with some important misprints in Bayley's History of the Tower, Appendix, p. xlix.) is contained in the MS. Harl. 559, f. 53, as follows:

Verba Thome Wiet militis in hora mortis sue.

Good people, I have confessyd before the quenes majestyes honorable counsayle alle those that toke parte with me, and were privaye of the conspiracye; butt as for mye ladye Elza-

yonder in holde or durance was previe of my rysing or commotyon before I began; as I have declared no lesse to the quenes counsaille. And this is most true."

Then said Weston at those wordes, interrupting his tale, "Merke this, my masters, he sayeth that that which he hathe shewed to the counsell in wryting of my lady Elizabeth and Courtney ys true." And whether Mr. Wyat, being then amased at such interruptyon, or whether they on the scaffolde pluct him by the gown bake or no, yt is not well knowen, but without more talke he tourned him, and put of his gown and untrussyd his pointes; then, taking the (earl of) Huntingdon, the lorde Hastinges, sir Giles[a] Stranguesh, and many other by the handes, he plucked of his doblet and wastcote, unto his shirte, and knelyd downe upon the strawe, then laied his hed downe awhile, and rayse on his knees agayne, then after a fewe wourdes spoken, and his eyes lyft upp to heaven, he knytt the handekersheve himself about his eyes, and a lyttel holding upp his hands sobdenly laid downe his hed, which the hangeman at one stroke toke from him. Then was he forthwith quarteryd apon the scaffolde, and the next day his quarters set at dyverse places, and his hed apon a stake apon the galloss beyond saynte James. Which his hed, as ys reported, remayned not there x. dayes unstolne awaye.[b]

This day also and the day before the lorde admyrall and *(blank)* went toward the seay, with many soldeares, all trymed in cotes and sloppes of whyt and grene, the quenes coloures.[c]

bethes grace, and the yearle of Devonnshere, here I take hyt uppon mye deathe that theye never knewe of the conspiracye, nether of mye fyrst risinge; and as towchinge anye fawlte that is layd to theyre charge I can not accuse them (God I take in witnes).

Le 11 die Aprilis an° 1554, p'mo an° Marie regine.

[a] *Miscopied* Thom. *by Stowe.*

[b] Renard says it was taken away on the same day (April 17) that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was acquitted: "Le meme jour on ota la teste de Wyatt, qu'avoit esté planté dessus ung gibet; qu'est en Angleterre grande crime et schandale." Tytler, ii. 374.

[c] See a passage corresponding to this in Machyn's Diary, p. 59, and the note on the livery of green and white, ibid. p. 397.

The morrow following the lorde chancellour, the lorde tresorour, the lorde chamberlyn, and others (of) the counsyll, was at the Tower with the lady Elizabeth.

At this tyme was ij. starke knaves[a] sett on the pillory in Cheape, for sayinge that Wyat had clered my lady Elizabeth, &c.

The xvijth of Aprell, 1554, were ledd to the yelde hall, to be arrayned, sir Nicholas Throgmorton and sir James Croftes, master Robert Winter and Cuthbert Vaughan being also ledd thether to wytnes against theym; where that day was no more arrayned but sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who tarrying from vijth of the clock untyll allmost v. at night, was by verdyt quitt, wherat mayney people rejoyced. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's talke at the barre was this: he pleaded not gilty, and that he was concenting to nothing, &c.

The juries names is[b] *(left blank)*, which quit him; wherefore they were commanded to be redy before the counsèll at an hower's warnynge, on the losse of v^{C} li. a pece. On saincte Markes day, being the xxvth of Aprell, they were before the counsayll in the starre chamber, and thence, aboute ij. of the clocke, Whetston and Lucar[c] were sent to the Tower, and the rest to the Fleete, prysoners.

The xxvijth day the lorde Thomas Graye[d] was behedded at Tower hill, who saied, &c.

[a] The words "starke knaves" are inserted in another hand above those of the original writer, which are scratched away. They seem as if written by some loyal person in Elizabeth's reign who misunderstood the meaning of the paragraph.

[b] Their names are given in Holinshed's chronicle, where all the proceedings of Throckmorton's trial are very fully detailed. It was especially memorable as a rare and almost unprecedented instance of a state prisoner escaping from the judicial engines of arbitrary power. Sir Nicholas was indebted for his release to his own high spirit, good tact, and eloquence, for he was his own advocate; and to the christian courage of the worthy citizens who composed his jury. They suffered imprisonment for nearly all the rest of the year, and were then released only on the payment of very heavy fines (see Holinshed, under the dates of Nov. 10 and Dec. 22). Throckmorton's trial will also be found in the Collection of State Trials, and in Mr. Jardine's interesting volume on that subject.

[c] Thomas Whetston, haberdasher, foreman, and Emanuell Lucar, merchant-taylor.

[d] "A proper gentleman," remarks Holinshed, "and one that had served right valiantly both in France and Scotlande, in the dayes of the late kings Henrie and Edwarde." He was buried (says Machyn, p. 61) at Allhallows Barking.

The xxviijth daye sir James Croftes was condempned. He colde not be fonde of the quest which was warned passing viij^{te}, so they were fayne to sende for Hartopp and serten curryars and others.[a]

The wordes of a Spanyard at Bristowe.[b]

The [19th] daie of Maye the lady Elizabeth was caried out of the Tower by water to *(blank)*,[c] and thence to Woodestoke, wher she remayneth as prysoner, safe kept by the lorde Williams.

The xxv. daie of Maye was the lorde Courtney, in the morning, convaied to [Fotheringay[d]], ther as prysoner in safe keping of *(blank)*.

In this moneth master Winter and master Yorke (?) were delivered.

The xviij. daie of May was master William Thomas drawne to Tyborne, and ther hanged and quarteryd, who saide he dyed for his country with the three (?) points declared.

The *(blank)* daie of June the galluses[e] taken down in London.

The same daye the crosse begon to be new gilted agayn.

This moneth master Thomas Bridges toke apon him the leweteanuntship of the Tower.

The ix. day of June the quene removed to Richmond.

The xth day a gon shot at Polles.[f]

[a] The MS. is here not very clear, but the meaning is plainly that only eight of the jurors originally summoned were willing to convict the accused, and consequently four other men were sent for. No fuller account of sir James Croft's trial is known to be extant. He escaped with his life, and was among those released on the 18th Jan. following. See his memoir in the Retrospective Review, Second Series, vol. i.

[b] These words occur at the foot of a leaf, but nothing more of the matter.

[c] "On saturday [May 19] at one o'clock in the afternoon, my lady Elizabeth was delivered out of the Tower by my lord treasurer and my lord chamberlain, and went to Richmond by water forthwith ere she landed; where she shall be attended upon by sundry of the guard, and some officers of every office in the queen's house, but how long she shall continue there I know not." Letter of Robert Swyft to the earl of Shrewsbury, in Lodge's Illustrations.

[d] Blank in the MS. Fotheringay is named in Stowe, and see Machyn's Diary, p. 64.

[e] The gallows on which the rebels were hung: they were now cleared away to prepare for king Philip's public entry; see Machyn, p. 45.

[f] When doctor Pendleton was preaching; see Stowe, and Machyn, p. 65. The occurrence is also thus noticed in a letter of Simon Renard, the emperor's ambassador, to his

The lorde John Gray, the xjth day, caried to Westminster and condempned.[a]

At this tyme a bruit of redb.(?) in Stepney, and the first talke of the making the bishop of Winchester a cardenall.

The *(blank)* daie of Julie ther was a comotion in the towne of Andewarp agaynst the lordes of the towne.

Thursday the xixth of Julie, Philip prince of Spaine landed at Hampton, and the monday following the quene removed to Winchester to mete him.[b]

master: "L'on tira, dimanche passé, un coup d'arquebouse contre un prédicant catholique, estant au milieu de sa prédication, à laquelle assistoient plus de quatre mille personnes; et n'a l'on sceu qui avoit tiré le dit coup." Letter dated 14 June, 1554, in Tytler, ii. 418.

[a] Lord John Grey afterwards obtained his pardon, as Holinshed says, "through the painefull travayle and diligent suite of the ladie Grey his wife;" and he was released from the Tower on the 30th of October. His wife was daughter of sir Anthony Browne, K.G. grand-daughter of the lord chamberlain sir John Gage, and sister to the new viscount Montagu (see p. 81). By the execution of his brothers lord John Grey became the head of the family, and from him descends the present earl of Stamford and Warrington. See further notices of him in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 674.

[b] The following stages of the queen's progress, on her marriage journey, are from "Mr. Robert How's notes in his Almanack of the yere of our Lord 1554," transcribed in the MS. Harl. 4102, f. 29 b.:

Tuesday the 29 (May) the quene went to Richemonte.
Saterday the 16 of June the quene went to Oteland.
Tuisday the 19 the quene came to Guilford.
Fryday the 22 the quene came to Farnham.
Wednesday the 11 of July the quene went to Norton.
Thursday the 12 she went to Waltham.
Fryday the 20 the prince of Spayne landed at Hampton.
Saterday the 22 the quene went to Winchester.
Wednesday the 25, being saynte James day, the quene maryed the prince of Spayne at Winchester.
Tuisday the 31 the quene and king went to Basing.
Thursday the 2 of August the king and quene went to Reding.
Fryday the 3 of August the king and quene went to Windsor.
Saterday the 22 the king and quene went to Richemont.
Fryday the 17 of August the king and quene cam to Southwark.
Saterday the 18 they went thorough London to Westminster.

Note, the sonday before that, on the xv. of July, ther was xij. cartes laden with treasury out of the Tower towardes Winchester.

The same day a poore maide stoode at Polles crosse for speaking in a wall at Aldersgate.[a]

On saynct James's day, being the xxv. of July, the king and quene weare maried at Winchester,[b] and from thence they removed to Basing and to Windesour, and from thence to Richmonde, where they contynued till fridaie the xvijth of August, at which tyme they came from Richmonde by water to Southewarke, accompanied with the noblemen and ladyes; the kinge in one barge and she in an other; and lande at saincte Mary Overyes, at the bushope of Winchester's place, and ther, after they had drounck, they passed the lyttell parke into Suffolke place, alias Southewarke place, in which parke they killed by the way certayn buckes, and so rested ther all night, and the next day till iij. of the clocke at afternoone, at which hower they dyd sett forwarde thorowe Southwarke over the bridge, and so thoroghe London to Whitehalle, wher they lodged. The armes at the gate of the bridge foote was newe guilded, and ther stoode at the drawe-bridge ij. great images of giantes holding theis verses *(omitted)*.[c]

The counduit in Graciouse strete was newe paynted and gilded, and aboute the winding turred was fynely portrayed the ix. wourthies and king Henry the eight and Edwarde the vjth in their tabernacles, all in complet harnesse, some with mases, some with swordes, and some with pollaxes in their handes; all saving Henry the eight, which was paynted having in one hand a cepter and in the other hande a booke, whereon was wrytten *Verbum Dei*; [^{d}but after the king

[a] See this story at full in Stowe; also in Machyn, p. 66, and Renard's account in Tytler, ii. 340.

[b] See an account of the marriage in the Appendix.

[c] A full account of these pageants, accompanied by the inscriptions, is contained in Elder's letter in the Appendix.

[d] This passage is crossed out in the MS. as if the writer had been fearful of retaining it. Foxe relates the same story, with some slight variations, as follows: "King Henry was painted in harnesse, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, delivering the same booke (as it were) to his son king

was passed, the bushoppe of Winchester, noting the book in Henry the eightes hande, shortely afterwards called the paynter before him, and with ville wourdes calling him traytour, askte why and who bad him describe king Henry with a boke in his hande, as is aforesaid, thretenyng him therfore to go to the Flete. And the paynter made answer, that he thought he had don well, and that no man bad him do the contrary, "for (sayth he) yf I had knowen the same had ben agaynst your lordeship's pleasure, I wold not so have made him." "Nay, (saide the bushoppe,) yt is agaynst the quenes catholicke proceedinges," &c. And so he paynted him shortly after, in the sted of the booke of *Verbum Dei*, to have in his handes a newe payre of gloves.]

At the ende of Gracyouse street, towardes Leaden hall, was a very

Edward, who was painted in a corner by him. [The painter, it may be remarked, probably derived his idea from the title-page of the great bible of 1539.] But hereupon was no small matter made; for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not onely called him knave for painting a book in king Henries hand, and specially for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*, but also ranke traitor and villaine, saying to him that he should rather have put the booke into the quenes hand (who was also painted there), for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter answered and said, that if he had knowne that had been the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his lordship. The bishop answered and said, that it was the quenes majesties will and commandement that he should send for him: and so commanding him to wipe out the booke, and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book or of *Verbum Dei* in king Henries hand, he wiped away a peece of his fingers withall." Foxe's embellishments in his stories (not to call them perversions,) are now well known: he chooses to tell them his own way. In the present instance, the presentation of the book to king Edward, and the wiping out of the fingers, are among his improvements: but the ominous fact of the bible being painted out, and replaced by a pair of gloves, (as related in the text,) is confirmed by a third version of the story, as follows: "This yeare the ix. worthies at Graces church was painted, and king Henry the eight emongest them, with a bible in his hand, written upon it *Verbum Dei:* but commandement was geven immediately that it should be put out, and so it was, and a paire of gloves put in the place." (MS. Harl. 419, f. 131.) It will be within the recollection of most readers that on queen Elizabeth's similar triumphal entry into London, from one of the pageants a real bible was presented to her; and that she received it with the warmest manifestations of pleasure and approbation. See the various chroniclers, and Hayward's Elizabeth, (printed for the Camden Society,) p. 17.

fayre pageant, made by the Estylliard, of a great bread hanging, garnyshed many goodly storyes with images of the [vij. cardinall vertues[a]], and ther names wryten under the theater; and then, at the ende of the pageant, was a highe gatehouse, fayre paynted; on the toppe whereof was made the image of a fayre horse and a man in harnesse rydyng theron, which, (when) the king came by, by a prety device, was made to mounte and tourne ronde about.

At the ende of Cornewall,[b] by the stocks, ther was a pageant of a great heigth, havyng seates, wheron sat iiij. Phillipes, that was Phillipus rex Macedoniæ, Phillipus bonus, Phillipus imperator, and Phillipus audax; and over them sat, under a rich cloth of estat, in the toppe of the pageant, Phillip and Mary, &c.

Beyond the great conduyt was a pageant made like a mount, replenyshed with leaves and herbes, in the toppe wherof was a great bush of grene byrch and hawthorn, wherein in a seat sat Orpheus with his harpe, having at his feet theis verses, &c. And about the lower ende of the mount sat dyverse childern playing of dyverse instrumentes; and when the king cam by they came out of the mount, as it were dancing, all maner of beastes, as lyons, wulves, beares, apes, &c.

The crosse of Cheape clean newe gilt; yt cost a xvth thorough the citye.

At the lyttell conduit was a very prety pageant, being but sleight, but mervalelouse fayre, made in maner of a vyne or tre of roses, the rote[c] wherof was lorde *(blank)*, and so at every branches end satt a childe in a king's or quenes apparell, declaring the dyssent of the king and quene, vntyll they came to the toppe, wher they[d] sat both together in the toppe of the said pageant. From thence the king

[a] *These words are struck through with a pen.*

[b] *So the MS. for* Cornhill. In Elder's pamphlet in the Appendix the same corruption occurs.

[c] *i. e.* root.

[d] *i. e.* the king and queen. This was a favourite way of representing pedigrees in genealogical rolls, and adopted in the Jesse windows of churches.

went to Polles and offered. At the conduit in Fleet street was also a very handsom pageant made in maner of a castell, havinge the armes of all chresten realmes, and very prety poses,[a] &c. Over the gate at Temple barre was paynted ij. men of . . . . . bignes[b] havyng in their handes a table, wherin was wrytten theis sentences, &c.

Note, ther was ij. swordes caried before theym, and ij. horses ledd after theym. At their going thorogh London non apperyth . . .,[c] &c.

At the coronation Vashan . . . .

The quene removed the *(blank)* day of August to Hampton Court.

At this tyme the French king retyred.

At this tyme ther was so many Spanyerdes in London that a man shoulde have mett in the stretes for one Inglisheman above iiij. Spanyerdes, to the great discomfort of the Inglishe nation. The halles taken up for Spanyerdes.[d]

About this tyme ther was half a rysing at Ypswych in Suffolk.

In September the noblemen dyd axe licence to repayre every man into his contry, whether for avoiding their expences or any other cause ys as yit unknown.

The king's wordes for the ryding of the garde at his coming aland.

His words towching the nobillyty.[e]

The *(blank)* of September[f] sir Anthony Brown dyschardged of the mastership of the horse for the king, and so made a lorde by the name of the lorde Mountacute.

Brought into the Tower iiij out of Suffolk for an insurrecion ther, and certayn executed.

The vth of September a talke of xij thousand Spanyardes coming more into the realme, they said to fethe[g] the crowne.

[a] *i. e.* verses. [b] *Obscurely written in MS.*

[c] *These words are very obscure in the MS.*

[d] *i. e.* they were lodged in the halls of the city companies. *All this passage is crossed out in the MS.*

[e] These are hints of matters not trusted to paper.

[f] Stowe says the 2d September, Machyn the 6th.

[g] fetch?

The vjth of September, or theraboutes, ther was cut of in the king and quenes howsehold from the common ordenarie above xxij. measse of meat, by reaport.

At this tyme ther was a talk that the bishopryk of Canterbury and metropolytaneship of Ingland (because a Spanysh frere lay there) was geven to a Spanysh frere; and the lorde Williams was out of his chamberlenshipp, and secretary Petre out of his office, and that the lord tresorer had geven the quene Basing.

M^{d}. that the xth of September ther was a rumour that my lorde of Westmerlande and other kept a counsaill at Yorke, and that the erle of Pembroke, the erle of Sherysbury, and the erle of Westmerlande were proclaymed traytours at the courte at Hampton.[a]

At this tyme wer the newe coynes, with the doble face,[b] devised by sir John Godsalve and Thomas Egerton.

Fryday the xiiijth of September were sett out by the bushope of London to be enquired of thoroughe out his diocesse by iiij substanciall persons therto by him appoynted, in every warde, a boke containing Cxxvj artycles, aswell towching the mysdemeynour of the clergie as the layety.[c] (Note, to ampliefy yt.)

The last daie of September 1554, the bushoppe of Winchester preched at Poules crosse, and there brought him to the crosse the bushope of London with his crosyar staf before hime. Ther sate under the lorde mayre the erle of Arundell and all the Peter Bourne mates[d] and all the counsayle. The effecte of the bushopes

[a] This passage is also crossed out in the MS. probably because the rumour proved to be false.

[b] *i. e.* with the two profiles of the king and queen.

[c] See an account of these "Articles" in the Typographical Antiquities, Dibdin's edit. vol. iv. p. 392. The first thirty-seven (those which relate to the clergy) are printed by Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. Records to Book II. number 15.

[d] These words are doubtful: if correctly read, they mean the fellows of secretaries Petre and Bourne. Foxe enumerates as present "all the counsel that were at the court, namely, the marques of Winchester, the earle of Arundell, lord North, syr Anthony Browne, maister Rochester, maister Walgrave, maister Englefield, lord Fitzwaters, and secretary Peter; and the byshopes of London, Duresme, and Ely, which three sat under the byshop's armes." Some account of the sermon will be found in Foxe: "saying that all the preachers almost in kyng Edwardes tyme preached nothing but voluptuousnesse,

sermon was all of charytye; he deceanded of heresy preched at that place; he spake of tales at the counsayll at York; he praysed the king and his domynions and riches, and willed all so obedyently to behave themselves that he might tary still with us, &c.

Apon tuesday the ij[d]. of October ther cam to the Tower in twenty carres made for the shewe, accompanyed with certeyn Spanyerdes of the king's garde, iiij[xx] xvij. lytell chestes[a] of a yard long and iiij. ynches brode, of syllver, which will mak by estymacyon l. thousand pounde.

and filthye and blasphemous lyes," &c. &c. This report is scarcely credible: the following notes of the same sermon, which remain in manuscript among Foxe's papers (MS. Harl. 425, p. 118), are of a tamer complexion :—

"The notes of a sermon made by the bishope of Wynchester at Powles crosse the laste daye of September, 1554.

"First, he prayed for the kynge and quen and for fruite of them; second, for the spirialty, in especialle for the byshope of London, with the rest of the clergie; then for the nobylete and comens of the same; thirdly, for the sowles departyd and yeate remayne, havinge nead of our prayers, to receave that which God hathe preparyd for them; and so sayd a shorte prayer.

"The Gospell of Mathew, 22 chap.: 'Then the scribes and feresis came to him, tempting him,' &c. And so the hole gospell in Latin, and afterwards in Englishe. It hathe bin the exersis of the scribes and farases allwayes to tempt Christe, and to seke some vauntage, as now among mani; one dyd a question, not to learne but to tempt him.

"The question is a great question, that is, to knowe the cheviste and greatiste commandment. In thes scribes and pharesis is the natuer of mani men discribyd, that is, to serche and knowe hie things, and to reson and dispute of that wherof they have no understandinge.

"Christe answerithe them with two commandmentes, and saithe: Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy herte, with all thy sowle, with all thy mynde: this is the first and chefyste. Ther is another like unto this, Thou shalte love thy neybowr as thy sealfe, &c.

"Here do we learne that God owght to be worshepyd and obeyd with all owr hert, sowle, and mynde, and all owr doings must be so directyd as maye declare the goodnes and glorye of God."

[a] Instead of fourscore and seventeen chests, Stowe has made this 27 chests in each cart. Foxe, who has also chronicled this arrival, says, "It was matted about with mats, and mayled in little bundles about two feet long and almost half a foot thick, and in every cart sixe of those bundles." All the authorities, including Machyn, p. 69, agree in the number of twenty carts.

Table showing the heirs female in remainder to the Crown, named in the Will of Henry VIII. and the Devise of Edward VI.

Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, in the 70th year of her age, was the survivor of all these ladies.

The duchess of Suffolk, having been remarried to her servant Adrian Stock esquire, died in 1559.

The fate of the lady Jane is detailed in the present volume.

Her sister the lady Katharine, having been rejected by her betrothed husband the lord Herbert of Cardiff, secretly united herself to the earl of Hertford in 1561, and died a state prisoner in 1567. Her eldest descendant and representative is the duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

The lady Mary (following rather the example of her mother's alliance with Adrian Stock than the apparently more hazardous steps of her sisters,) demeaned herself by a secret match with Thomas Keyes the queen's serjeant porter in 1565, but her punishment was no less, for she was also a prisoner so long as her husband lived, that is, until 1571; she died, without issue, in 1578.

The lady Margaret was married in 1555, with queen Mary's sanction, to Henry lord Strange, afterwards the fourth earl of Derby, and died in 1596. Her eldest heir of blood is believed to be the earl of Jersey.—See "Royal Descents, a Genealogical List of the several persons entitled to Quarter the Arms of the Royal Houses of England. 1845." 4to.

Of the descendants of Margaret queen of Scots there were living in 1553: 1. her granddaughter Mary queen of Scots, then in her 11th year, and affianced to the Dauphin of France; 2. her daughter Margaret countess of Lennox, then in her 38th year; and 3. Henry lord Derneley, the elder son of the countess (afterwards married to the queen of Scots), then in his 8th year.

The claim of the queen of Scots, as coming of the elder sister, was not forgotten by the emperor, who attributed the French king's favour towards the proceedings in England to the circumstance of "monsieur le Dolphin having the daughter of Scotland," and consequently wishing to set aside the daughters of Henry VIII. Letter of the Commissioners at Brussels, 20 July.

APPENDIX.

I. The will of King Edward the Sixth, and his Devise for the Succession to the Crown.

I have stated in the note at page 4, that besides the letters patent of the 21st of June 1553, which were designed to place the lady Jane next in succession to the Crown, there are two other documents extant, exhibiting the earlier stages of this daring effort of Northumberland's policy. Having subsequently, by favour of the Hon. Society of the Inner Temple, examined the original documents seen by bishop Burnet and Strype, I take this opportunity to give a more exact account of them. The "devise for the succession," in king Edward's own handwriting, will especially claim further consideration than has hitherto been bestowed upon it, on account of some very remarkable peculiarities, both of its original construction and its subsequent modification.

By way of introduction it may be remarked, that several acts of parliament[a] passed in the reign of Henry VIII. had encouraged the theory that the succession was in the sovereign's power of appointment. By the 28th Hen. VIII. it was limited to the issue that might arise from his marriage with queen Jane (Seymour), and in default thereof it was enacted "that your highness shall have full and plenar power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by your letters patent under your great seal, or else by your last will made in writing, and signed with your most gracious hand, at your only pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this Realm." By the 35th Henry VIII. the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, though both then illegitimate by former acts of parliament, were placed next in succession in default of issue of their brother or further issue of the king, but both their titles were to be "with such conditions as by his highness shall be limited by his letters patent, under his great seal, or by his majesty's last will in writing, signed with his gracious hand;" and on the failure of all the three children and their issue the succession of the crown in reversion or remainder was to be limited by the king's appointment as before, according to the terms of the act 28 Hen. VIII. already recited.

In conformity with the enactment of his 35th year, king Henry the Eighth made a will, and by that will the crown was to devolve, 1. on his son Edward and the heirs of his body; 2. on his own heirs by queen Katharine (Parr) or any other future wife; 3. on his daughter Mary; 4. on his daughter Elizabeth; 5. on the heirs of the body of his niece the lady Frances; 6. on those of her sister the lady Eleanor; 7. to the next rightful heirs. In the event of either the lady Mary or the lady Elizabeth marrying

[a] Sir Harris Nicolas has given abstracts of these acts of parliament in the notes appended to his memoir of lady Jane Grey.

without the consent of the privy council, they were respectively to be passed over as if dead without lawful issue.

These, then, formed the precedents on which the duke of Northumberland assumed that the succession might again be modified by the act of the reigning monarch, expressed by letters patent and by a last will,—to be confirmed by act of parliament, as the opportunity for such ratification might arrive.

The main difference of king Edward's devise from king Henry's settlement consisted in the total exclusion of his two sisters.[a] In the exclusion of the descendants of his aunt Margaret queen of Scots, on whom the crown ultimately devolved after the lapse of half a century, he merely followed the precedent of his father's will.

Another remarkable feature of the devise is this, that, as originally drawn, it contemplated only a male successor. It will be remembered that England had as yet obeyed no reigning Queen; and that the empress Maud and Margaret countess of Richmond had been instances of heiresses living whilst their sons sat on the throne. Henry VIII. had indeed bequeathed the crown in contingent remainder to his daughters; but, after them, the next remainder created by his will was to "to the heirs of the body of the lady Frances" his niece, not to the lady Frances herself. Thus the duchess of Suffolk had been already passed over by Henry VIII. as she was now again by king Edward. Following the like scheme throughout, all the other female heirs were passed over in favour of their male issue not yet born. Now, it was an extraordinary circumstance in the state of the Blood Royal at this period, that, whilst the living descendants of Henry the Seventh were (exclusive of the Scotish line,[b]) seven in number of the female sex, there was not one male except king Edward himself. (*See the Table prefixed to these remarks.*) It was this fact that conferred genealogical importance, in the political speculations of the time, on the earl of Devonshire, as a male descendant of king Edward IV. and on cardinal Pole, as the male descendant and representative of George duke of Clarence.

The first limitation of king Edward's settlement was, to the lady Frances's issue male, born before the king's death, and in default of such issue to the lady Jane's heirs male. This arrangement would have fully answered the duke of Northumberland's ambitious views, had king Edward survived the birth of a son to the lady Jane. In that case the infant would have succeeded to the crown immediately on king Edward's death, and Northumberland would have been grandfather of the actual monarch.

But the rapid decline of the king's health did not allow time for this project to arrive

[a] They are not even named in the king's devise: but in the final settlement, or letters patent, their title as founded on their father's will is first recited, and then declared inadmissible on these three grounds,—1. their illegitimacy; 2. their being of half-blood to the king; 3. the probability of their marrying a stranger born out of the realm.

[b] Henry the Eighth had already preferred the descendants of his aunt the queen of France to those of her elder sister the queen of Scots, who were considered as debarred from the inheritance as aliens by birth. In contrast to which, it was "called to our remembrance" (*i. e.* of king Edward) that the daughters of the lady Frances and the lady Eleanor were "of the whole blood and naturall-born within the realm."

at maturity. It became necessary to name some existing person as an immediate successor, and to terminate an arrangement, which, designating only a future and unborn heir, might have the effect of placing the crown in abeyance. Under these circumstances, the obvious course would have been to prefer the lady Frances, she being the first in order of the heirs female already nominated. This did not suit Northumberland's purpose. It would have had the effect of transferring his own power into the hands of the duke of Suffolk, the lady's husband. Besides, the duchess of Suffolk was still a young woman (she was seventeen months younger[a] than queen Mary,) and might live long. She might even yet have a son, if not by her present by a future husband, and thus totally exclude Northumberland's posterity.

The next alternative was to appoint the lady Jane to be the positive heir to the throne. This was actually done, by altering the words

——— "to the L' Janes heires masles,"

into "to the L' Jane and her heires masles."

In the king's autograph "devise" a pen is drawn through the letter *s*, which still remains on the paper, and the words "and her" are written above the line. The duke of Northumberland's immediate object, namely the succession of the lady Jane, was thus attained; and, for consistency's sake, her sisters the ladies Katharine and Mary were placed in the like condition of personal inheritance, in the letters patent, though this does not appear in the devise; whilst the lady Margaret was inconsistently passed over, as in the devise when first written, and (like the lady Frances) was named only as conveying a contingent remainder to her male issue.

It is obvious that the duke of Northumberland undertook a task which had many difficult stages before it could result in success. In the first place he had to reconcile the king to his views, next the council, thirdly the lawyers, fourthly the parliament, fifthly, and above all, the nation. In the first of these endeavours he had, so far as we know, little or no resistance: the king, probably chiefly influenced by religious arguments, not only assented to his minister's suggestions, but exercised his personal authority to coerce the council and the lawyers. How the project was carried with these parties we are informed, by the apology of archbishop Cranmer,[b] and by the respective narratives of secretary Cecill and chief justice Montagu.[c] With a parliament, as parliaments were then, there can be little doubt of its success had it come to the trial. With the nation, when the struggle arrived, the duke's failure was entire, for no minister was ever more unpopular, or more universally hated, than this "tyrant" as he was called,[d] the merciless "bear of Warwick." Besides,

---

[a] The lady Frances was born 16 July 1517 (Lodge's Illustrations, i. 27.) She was now therefore thirty-six; and lord Orford was wrong in supposing her "not past thirty-one," in his remarks cited by Nicolas, Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, p. cviii.

[b] Printed in Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxxiv., and in the Parker Society's edition of Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 442.

[c] References to these have been already given in p. 4.

[d] Among various proofs of this feeling see particularly the "Epistle of poor Pratte," printed hereafter. We find Noailles attributing queen Jane's ill-success rather to the

such was the people's sense of justice, and so entirely was their opinion of hereditary right involved in that sentiment, that even the most devoted Protestants were, from their conscientious loyalty, among the most faithful supporters of the lady Mary.

To return to the mode of procedure in framing the legal settlement, as evidenced by the existing documents. The first step must have been some dictation to the youthful monarch, either in a written or oral form. The next step was the king's drawing out, entirely with his own hand, " My devise for the succession " (the document which follows). The third step,—after the alterations we have already considered and others had been made,—was to make a fair transcript: this was done by secretary Petre, and the king added his signature to each of the six paragraphs. This authenticated copy was then delivered " to certain judges and other learned men," that they might prepare the settlement accordingly. At the same time an engagement was entered into, by which the council pledged themselves, by their signatures,[a] to support the said limitation of the Crown, and to punish any person attempting to vary or swerve from it (see this document hereafter). Lastly, the letters patent were duly drawn, and executed on the 21st of June,[b] in the form hereafter printed, pp. 91—100.

King Edward proceeded further, to prepare minutes for his last Will: these also were transcribed by secretary Petre, and the transcript in his handwriting is preserved in the same repository with the foregoing.

In the conviction that more accurate copies of these very important documents than it was customary to edit in the days of Burnet or Strype, will be acceptable to historical inquirers, I have transcribed them with great care. The first is the king's " devise," in which the reader will please to observe that all words printed in Italic type are those which in the original have the pen drawn through them, and that the parentheses denote the words inserted above the lines.

---

people's hatred of the overbearing duke than to their love for Mary—" toutes ces choses sont advenues plus pour la grande hayne que l'on porte à icelluy duc, qui a voulu tenir un chacun en craincte, que pour l'amitie que l'on a à ladicte royne." Ambassades, ii. 80.

[a] The document says seals also, but the seals were not added (unless, indeed, it was executed in duplicate).

[b] The French ambassador Noailles, who was in the confidence of the Protestant party, wrote home to his master on the 26th June, that the king had made his will nine days before—viz. on the 17th, four days before the actual date of the letters patent. Noailles had probably received an account of the council meeting at which the king propounded his devise. — 26 June 1555. " Il y a aujourd'huy neuf jours que le roy vostre bon fils et frere feit son testament, par lequel il ordonne et veult, par sa derniere volunté, que sa couronne tumbe a Jeanne de Suffolck, comme je vous ay cy-dessus escript, [no former intimation of the fact or intention is preserved in Noailles's letters,] et le parlement de Hoestcemestre a esté remis jusques a la fin du mois de Septembre, qui est, comme je pense, pour confirmer sesdictes dispositions." Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 49.

King Edward's devise, entirely autograph.
(MS. Petyt 47, f. 317.)

My deuise for the succession.

1. For lakke of issu (*masle*) of my body (*to the issu* (*masle*) *cumming of thissu femal, as i haue after declared*). To the L Fraũceses heires masles, *For lakke of* (if she have any) such issu (befor my death) to the L' Janes (and her) heires masles, To the L Katerins heires masles, To the L Maries heires masles, To the heires masles of the daughters wich she[a] shal haue hereafter. Then to the L Margets heires masles. For lakke of such issu, To th'eires masles of the L Janes daughters. To th'eires masles of the L Katerins daughters, and so forth til yow come to the L Margets (daughters) heires masles.

2. If after my death theire masle be entred into 18 yere old, then he to have the hole rule and gouernaũce therof.

3. But if he be under 18, then his mother to be gouuernres til he entre 18 yere old, But to doe nothing w^t^out th'auise (and agremẽt) of 6 parcel of a counsel to be pointed by my last will to the nombre of 20.

4. If the mother die befor th'eire entre into 18 the realme to be gouuerned by the coũsel Prouided that after he be 14 yere al great matters of importaunce be opened to him.

5. *If i died w^t^out issu, and ther were none heire masle, then the L Fraunces to be (gouuernres) regẽt. For lakke of her, the her eldest daughters,*[b] *and for lakke of them the L Marget to be gouuernres after as is aforsaid, til sume heire masle be borne, and then the mother of that child to be gouuernres.*

6. *And if during the rule of the gouuernres ther die* 4 *of the counsel, then shal she by her letters cal an assẽble of the counsel w^t^in on month folowing and chose* 4 *more, wherin she shal haue thre uoices. But after*

[a] "she," *i. e.* the lady Frances (duchess of Suffolk), whose three living daughters, Jane, Katharine, and Mary, have now been enumerated.

[b] "the her eldest daughters," *sic MS. probably for* then her eldest daughter,—*i. e.* the lady Jane. There is nothing in the letters patent corresponding to this clause; for it was rendered unnecessary when the arrangement had been admitted that the lady Jane should immediately succeed in the event of her mother having no son at the time of King Edward's decease. Still, as appears from the king signing "in six several places," there were six paragraphs in the fair copy of the devise.

her death the 16 *shal chose emong themselfes til th'eire come to* (18 erased) 14 *yeare olde, and then he by ther aduice shal chose thē.*[a]

Engagement of the Council and others to maintain the Succession as limited by the King.

(MS. Petyt 47, f. 316. In the handwriting of secretary Petre, the signatures all autographs.)

EDWARD. *(Signature)*

Wee whose names be underwrytten, having hertofore many tymes harde the kinges mat^e^ our most gracious soveraygne lordes earnest desire and expresse commawndment toching the limitation of the succession in the imperiall crowne of this realme and others his majesties realmes and dominions; and having seen his majesties own devise toching the sayd succession, fyrst holly wrytten with his most gracious hande, and after copied owt in his majesties presence, by his most high commawndment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesties own hande, and by his highnes delyveryd to certayn judges and other lerned men, to be wrytten in full order: Doo, by his majesties speciall and absolute commawndment, eftsones given us, agree, and by these presentes signed with our handes and sealed with our seales, promys by our othes and honours to observe, fully performe, and kepe all and every article, clause, brawnche, and matter conteyned in the sayd wryting delyveryd to the judges and others, and subscribed with his majesties hande in six severall places; and all suche other matter as his majestie by his last will shall appoynt, declare, or commawnd, toching or concerning the limitation of his sayd imperiall crowne. And wee do further promys by his majesties said commawndment never to varie or swarve, during our liefes, from the sayd limitation of the succession: butt the same shall to the uttermost of our powers defende and mayntayne. And if any of us, or any other, shall att any tyme herafter (which God forbydd) varye from this agreement or any part thereof, wee and every of us doo assent to take, use, and repute hym for a breaker of the common concord, peax, and unite of this realme,

[a] This clause, though erased in the king's draft, will be found retained in the letters patent, but the council was to consist of thirty instead of twenty members.

and to doo our utmost to see hym or them so varying or swarving, punisshed with most sharpe punisshment, according to their desertes.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc.
Wynchester. Northubrland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk.
W. Northt. H. Shrewesbury. F. Huntyngdon. Penbroke.
E. Clynton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham.
R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.
John Gate. William Petre. Joan' Cheek.
W. Cecill. Edward Mountagu.
John Bakere.
Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas.
John Gosnold.

Letters Patent for the Limitation of the Crown.

From the transcript of Ralph Starkey in the MS. Harl. 35, *f.* 364, which is preceded by this title: "A true coppi of the counterfet wille supposed to be the laste wille and testament of kinge Edwarde the Sixt, forged and published under the Great Seale of Englande by the confederacie of the dukes of Suffolke and Northumberlande, on the behalfe of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter to the said duke of Suffolke, and testefied with the handes of 101 of the cheife of the nobilliti and princepall men of note of this kingdome; dated the 21 day of June an°. 1553;" and followed by this memorandum: "This is a true coppie of Edward the Sixte his will, taken out of the originall under the Greate Seale, which sir Robart Cotton delyvered to the kinges majestie the xijth of Apprill 1611, at Roystorne, to be canseled."

Edward.

Edwarde the Sixt, by the grace of God kinge of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the faith and of the church of England and also of Ireland in earth the Supreme Head, to all our nobles and other our good loving faithfull and obedyente subjects greeting in our Lord God everlastinge. Forasmuch as it hath pleased the goodnes of Almightie God to visit us with a longe and werie sickenes, wherby wee doe feele our selfe to be with the same partly growen into some wekenes, albeit not doubteing in the grace and goodnes of God but to bee shortly by his mightie powre restored to our former helth and strength, and to lyve here in this transitory world and life such and so long tyme as it shall please God to stand with his most godly providence and determinacion, wherunto we doe with all our hart

moste humbly, wholy, and clearlye submit ourselfe; and callynge nowe to oure rememberance howe necessarye a thinge it is [to] have the estate of the emperiall crowne of these our noble realmes of England and Ireland, and our tytle of Fraunce, and the dominiones and marches of the same, to be so contynued and preserved as the same be not destitute of such a heade and governer as shalbe apte and meete to rule and governe the same our realmes and other our dominiones for the quiete preservacion of the common welth of our good lovinge and faithfull subjects; which sayd emperiall crowne, together with all the tytles, honoures, preheminences, and hereditaments therunto belonging, did lawfully discend and come by good, juste, right, and lawfull tytle and course of inheritance in fee simple to our late and moste deare father of worthie memorie kinge Henry the Eight, beinge lawfull and true inheritore therof in fee simple by the auntient lawes, statutes, and customes of this realme; AND NOTWITHSTANDINGE that in the tyme of our sayd late father, that is to saye, in the xxxvth yeare of his raigne, ther was then one estatute made, entitled, An Acte concerninge the Establishment of the King's Majesties succession in the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, wherby it is enacted, that in case it should happen our sayd late father and us, then beinge his only sone and heire apparent, to decease without heires of our bodye lawfully begotten, to have and inherite the said imperiall crowne, and other of our said late father's dominiones, accordinge and in such manner and forme as in the said Acte made in the said xxxvth yeare is declared, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all other the premysses specified in the said Acte, should be in the ladye Mary, by the name of the ladie Mary our said late fatheres daughter, and to the heires of the bodye of the said ladye Mary lawfully begotten, with such conditiones as by oure saide father shoulde be lymetted by his letteres pattentes under his great seale, or by his laste will in writyng signed with his hand; and for default of such issue the said imperiall crowne and other the premisses should be to the lady Elizabeth, by the name of the ladie Elizabeth our said late father's second daughter, and to the heires of the bodye of the said lady Elizabeth lawfully begotten, with such condiciones as by our said late father should be lymetted by his lettres pattents under his great seale, or by his laste will in writinge, signed with his hande, as in the said Acte made in the said xxxvth yeare of our said late father's raigne, amongest diveres and sondry other things and provisyons therin contayned, more playnely

and at large it doth and may appeare. AND FOR ASMUCH as the said lymytacion of the imperiall crowne of this realme, beinge lymmited by authorite of parleament as is afforesaid to the said ladie Mary and ladie Elizabeth, beinge illegitemate and not lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the mariage had betweene our said late father and the lady Katherine, mother to the said lady Marye, was clearly and lawfully undone, and separatione betweene them had by sentence of divorse accordinge to the ecclesiasticall lawes; and likewise the mariage had betweene our said late father and the lady Anne, mother to the said ladie Elizabeth, was also clearely and lawefully undone, and separation betweene them had by sentence of divorse accordinge to the ecclesiasticall lawes; which said severall divorsements have bene severally ratefyed and confirmed by authority of diveres actes of parleamente remaininge in their full force, strength, and effecte; wherby as well the said lady Marye as also the said ladie Elizabeth to all intents and purposes are and be clearly disabled to aske, claime, or challenge the said imperiall crowne, or any other of our honores, castelles, manores, lordeshipes, lands, tenements, and hereditaments as heire or heires to us or to any other person or persones who soevere, aswell for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said lady Mary and lady Elizabeth be unto us but of the halfe bloud, and therfore by the auntyent lawes, statutes, and customes of this realme be not inheritable unto us, although they were legitimate, as they be not indeed. AND FORASMUCH ALSO as it is to be thought, or at the leaste much to be doubted, that yf the said lady Mary or ladie Elizabeth should herafter have and enjoy the said imperiall crowne of this realme, and should then happen to marry with any stranger borne out of this realme, that then the same stranger, havinge the governemente and the imperiall crowne in his hands, would rather adhere and practice to have the lawes and customes of his or their owne native countrey or countreyes to be practised or put in ure within this our realme, then the lawes, statutes, and customes here of longe time used, wherupon the title of inheritance of all and singular our loving subjects doe depend, which would then tende to the utter subversion of the comon-welth of this our realme, which God defend. UPON ALL WHICH CAUSES AND MATTERES, and upon diveres other consideratyons concerninge the same, wee have oftentymes, aswell sithence the tyme of our sickenes as in the tyme of oure helth, wayed and considered with our selfe, what wayes and meanes were moste convenyent to be had for the staye of our said successyon in the said

imperiall crowne, yf it should please God to call us out of this transitory lyfe havinge no issue of our bodye lawfully begottone. And callinge to our remembrance, that the ladie Jane, the ladye Katherine, and the ladie Marye, daughters of our entirely beloved cosen the ladie Fraunces, nowe wife to our lovinge cosene and faithfull counsellor Henry duke of Suffolke, and the ladie Margarete, daughter of our late cosene the ladie Elleonore deceased, sister of the saide ladie Frauncis, and the late wife of our welbeloved cosen Henry earle of Cumberland, being very nigh of our whole bloude, of the parte of our father's side, and being naturall-borne here within the realme, and have ben also very honorably brought upe and exercised in good and godly learninge, and other noble vertues, so as ther is greate truste and hope to be had in them that they be and shalbe very well inclined to the advancement and settyng forth of our comon welth; WE THERFORE, upon good deliberation and advise herein had and taken, and haveinge also (thankes be to the livinge God) our full, whole, and perfect memory, doe by these presents declare, order, assigne, limett, and appointe that yf it shall fortune us to decease havinge no issue of our body lawefully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne of this our realmes of England and Ireland, and of the confynes of the same, and our tytle to the crowne and realme of Fraunce, and all and singular honnores, castelles, prerogatyves, privelyges, preheminences, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments to us and our said imperiall crowne belonginge, or in anywise appertaininge, shall, for lacke of such issue of our bodye, remayne, come, and be unto (1) THE ELDEST SONNE OF THE BODYE OF THE SAID LADY FRAUNCIS, LAWFULLY BEGOTTONE, BEINGE BORNE INTO THE WORLD IN OUR LYFETYME, and to the heires males of the bodye of the said eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of auncienty in birth, of the bodie of the said lady Frauncis lawfully begotten, beinge borne into the world in our lyfetyme, and to the heires males of the bodye of every such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such sonne borne into the world in our lyfetyme of the body of the said lady Frauncis lawfully begotten, and for lacke of the heires males of the bodie of every such sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singular other the premisses, shall remayne, come, and be, (2) TO THE LADIE JANE, eldeste daughter of the said ladie Frauncis, and to the heires males of the said bodye of the said ladie Jane, lawfully begotten; And for lacke of such heires males of the bodie

of the said lady Jane lawfully begotten, that then the imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premyses shall remaine, come, and be unto (3) THE LADY KATHERINE, second daughter of the said ladie Frauncis, and to the heires males of the bodie of the said ladie Katherine lawfully begotten; And for lacke of suche heire male of the bodie of the said ladie Katherine lawfully begotten that then the imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premisses, shall remayne, come, and be (4) TO THE LADIE MARYE, thirde daughter of the saide ladie Frauncis, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saide ladie Marye, lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such heires males of the bodie of the said ladie Marye laste before named, lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premisses, shall remaine, come, and be unto (5) THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODIE OF THE FOURTH DAUGHTER OF THE SAID LADY FRAUNCIS, and to the heires males of the body of the same eldest sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as well of the bodie of the said fourth daughter as from sonne to sonne of the bodie of any other daughter of the said ladie Fraunces, lawfully begotten, as the same other daughter and her said sonne shalbe of auntienty in birth, and to the heires males of the body of everie such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such sonne, and of the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premisses shall remaine, come, and be to (6) THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODYE OF THE LADY MARGARETE, daughter to the ladie Eleanore, sistere to the said ladie Fraunces, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodie of the same eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and soe from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of auntientye in berth of the body of the said lady Margarete lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the said bodie of every such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such heire, that then the said imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premisses shall remaine, come, and be to (7) THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODY OF THE ELDESTE DAUGHTER OF THE SAID LADY JANE, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of the same eldest sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of auncienty in byrth, of the bodie of the saide eldest daughter of the said lady Jane lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodie of every such sonne lawfully begotten; and for lacke of such heire that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premisses, shall remaine,

come, and be to the eldest sonne of the bodie of the seconde daughter of the said ladie Jane lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the body of the same eldest sonne lawfully begotten; and so from sonne to sonne as well of the body of the second daughter of the said lady Jane lawfully begotten, as from sonne to sonne of the bodies of any other daughter of the said lady Jane lawfully begotten, as the same other daughter and her said sonne shalbe of auncientie in berth, and to the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such sonne, and of the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premisses shall remaine, come, and be unto (8) THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODY OF THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF THE SAID LADY KATHERINE lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the body of the said eldest sonne lawfully begotten, and soe from sonne to sonne as they shall be of auncientye in berth, of the body of the said eldest daughter of the said lady Katherine lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of every such sonne lawfully begotten; and for lacke of such heires that then the said imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premisses shall remaine, come, and be unto the eldeste sonne of the body of the seconde daughter of the said lady Katherine lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of the said eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as well of the body of the said lady Katherine lawfully begotten, as from sonne to sonne of the bodye of any other daughter of the same lady Katherine lawfully begotten, as the same other daughter and her said sonne shalbe of auncientie in berth, and to the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such sonne, and of the heires males of the body of every such sonne, lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne and all and singuler other the premysses shall remaine, come, and be (9) TO THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODY OF THE ELDESTE DAUGHTER OF THE SAID LADY MARYE, sister to the said ladie Katherine, and to the heires males of the body of the same eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of auncientie in berth, of the body of the said eldeste daughter of the said lady Mary, sister to the said ladie Katherine, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the body of every such sonne lawfully begotten; and for lacke of such heire that then the saide imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premisses, shall remayne,

come, and be to the eldeste sonne of the body of the second daughter of the said lady Mary, sister to the said ladie Katherine, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of the same eldest sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of auncientie in berth, as well of the bodye of the saide seconde daughter of the said lady Marye, sister to the said lady Katherine, lawfully begotten, as from sonne to sonne of the bodie of any other daughter of the said ladye Mary, sister of the said ladie Katherine, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of every such sonne lawfully begotten; And for defaulte of such sonne, and of the heires males of the bodye of every such sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premisses, shall remaine, come and be (10) TO THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODY OF THE ELDESTE DAUGHTER OF THESAID FOURTH DAUGHTER OF THE SAID LADY FRAUNCIS lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of the same eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe of ancientie in berth, of the body of the said eldeste daughter of the said fourth daughter of the said lady Frauncis, lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodye of every such sonne lawfully begotten; and for default of suche sonne, and of the heires males of the bodie of every suche sonne lawfully begotten, that then the said imperiall crowne, and all and singuler other the premysses, shall remaine, come, and be (11) TO THE ELDESTE SONNE OF THE BODY OF THE ELDESTE DAUGHTER OF THE BODY OF THE SAID LADIE MARGARETE lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodie of the same eldeste sonne lawfully begotten, and so from sonne to sonne as he shalbe in ancientye in berth of the bodye of the said eldeste daughter of the said lady Margarete lawfully begotten, and to the heires males of the bodie of every suche sonne lawfully begotten. AND OUR MYNDE, DETERMINACION, AND PLEASURE IS, that if after our decease any such heir male as is before declared, and being kinge of this realme, be entered into eighteene yeares of age, that then he shall have the whole rule and governance of the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses; but yf after the decease of the said lady Jane, lady Katherine, and lady Marye, to whom as appertaineth the estat of the crowne, such heire male lymyted and appoynted as aforesaid be under the age of seventeene yeares complete, that then his mother to be the GOVERNOR of the said imperiall crowne, and other the premysses, untyll the said heire male shall enter his age of eighteene yeares, and that she shall doe nothinge without

the advise of sixe persons, parcell of a COUNSELL to the numbere of xxx persons, to be appointed by us in our laste wille; and yf the mother of such heire malle, lymited and appointed as is afforesaide, shalbe deceased before any such heire malle shalbe entytled to have the said imperiall crowne, and other the premysses, or shall dye before the same heire malle should enter into his age of eighteene yeares, as is afforesaid, that then the said imperiall crowne, and other the premisses, shalbe governed by the counsell; provided alwayes, that after the said heire malle shalbe of the age of xiiij. yeares complete, all matters of importance shall be opened and declared unto him; And yf duringe the rule of the said mother, beinge governor as is afforsaid, it shall fortune iiij. of the counsell to dye, that then she by her lettres shall have authoritye to call an assemblie of the whole counsell remaininge, within one month then next followinge, to chose iiij. more to be of the said counsell, to make uppe the said counsell of xxx. persons, in which choyse she shall have only iij. voyces; but after her deathe the xxvi of the said counsell of xxx persons shall chuse so many persons to be of the said counsell as shall with themselves make up the said counsell to the said numbre of xxx. persons; provided alwaies that the said heire malle, when he shall come to the age of xiiij. yeares, shall chuse, by the advise of the said counsell, so many to be of the said counsell as shall then want of the said numbre of xxx. persones to make upe and fulfille the said numbre of the said counsell of xxx. persones. And wee will that this our declaracion, order, assignemente, lymetacion, and appointemente, be truly observed, performed, and kepte in all things; and further, we will and charge all our nobles, lords spirituall and temporall, and all commoners of these our said realmes and the marches of the same, upon their allegiance, that they and every of them doe performe and execute this our present declaracion and lymetacion concerninge the succession of the crowne of these our said realmes, and other the premysses; and to see this our said declaracion and lymetacion concerninge the same established, ratefyed, and confirmed, as well by authoritye of parleamente as by all waies and meanes as they can, to the beste of their poweres; and to represse, reforme, repeale, and make voyde all actes of parlement and all other thinges that shall seeme or be in any wise to the contrary, lett, or disturbance of theis our pleasure and appointement, as they will answere affore God, tender the comon-welth of these our realmes, and avoide our

indignation and displeasure; and in witnes that this is our very true mynde and intent touchinge the successyone of our said imperiall crowne and all other the premisses, wee have hereunto sette our signe manuall and our greate seall the xxjth daye of June, in the 7th yeare of our raigne, in the presence of our counsellores and other our nobles, whose names are under written, to witnes, recorde, and testefye the same.

T. Cant'. T. Ely, Canc. Winchester. Northumb'land. Jo. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. North'ton. Arundell. Oxynforde. H. Westmerland. F. Shrewesbury. John Warwyk. W. Worcester. F. Huntington. Penbroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. Nic. London. Henry Aburgē. G. Cobham. Willam Grey. G. Talbott. T. Fitzwauters. William Windesor. J. Bray. Thomas Wentworthe. John St. John. R. Riche. William Willoughby. Francys Russelle. J. Fytzwarin. G. Fitzgerald. H. Strange. Thomas Gray. Chenye. Will'm Bu . . . Richard Cotton. John Gate. William Petre. W. Cecill. John Cheek. Roger Cholmeley. Edward

From the manner in which the signatures of this important document are written in the book which contains the only known transcript of it, there is some difficulty in distinguishing the classes of persons who were summoned to sign it, particularly among the latter signatures. In the early names, however, they appear to follow the true precedence in which they were affixed to the original. They may be distributed in classes as follow.

Great Officers of State and Peers. The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the lord chancellor (Thomas Goodrick bishop of Ely), the lord treasurer (the marquess of Winchester), the great master of the household (duke of Northumberland), the lord privy seal (earl of Bedford), the duke of Suffolk, the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Westmerland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Pembroke, the lord admiral Clinton, the lord chamberlain Darcy, the bishop of London (Nicholas Ridley), the lords Abergavenny, Cobham, Grey of Wilton, Windsor, Bray, Wentworth, Rich, and Willoughby of Parham.

Elder sons of peers. The earl of Warwick son of the great master, lord Fitzwalter son of the earl of Sussex, lord Talbot son of the earl of Shrewsbury, lord St. John of Basing son of the lord treasurer, lord Russell son of the lord privy seal, lord Fitzwarine son of the earl of Bath, lord Fitzgerald heir to the forfeited earldom of Kildare (to which he was soon after restored), lord Strange son of the earl of Derby.

The younger brother of the duke of Suffolk. Lord Thomas Grey.

Officers of the household. Sir Thomas Chenye treasurer, sir William (Cavendish treasurer of the chamber ?) sir Richard Cotton comptroller, sir John Gates vice-chamberlain.

Secretaries of State. Sir William Petre, sir William Cecill, and sir John Cheke.

Judges. Sir Roger Cholmeley chief justice of the king's bench, sir Edward Mountague

Mountague. Henry Bradschawe. John Bakere. Homfre Browne. Henry Portman. Robert Bowes. Jo. Masone. R. Sadler. Ric. Sakevyle. Edward Northe. A. Sentleger. William Paget. Tho. Wrothe. Henry Sydney. Morris Barkley. N. Throgmorton. Ryc. Blount. Henri Gage. Ric. Southwelle. John Williams. Henri Norres. Antoni Browne. James Dyer. John Gosnold. Will. Fitzwilliam. Will'm Croke. Henry Nevill.

George Barnes, mayre.

John Gresham. Andrew Judde. Ric. Dobbys. W. Damselle. Augustin Hinde. John Lambarde. Thomas Offley. Will'm Garrard. Lawrance Wether. Edward Rogeres. Adrian Poinings. p me William Huett. R. Bret. p me William Chester. Antony Broune. John Raynford. Ro. Sowthwell. By me Thomas Lodge. Thomas Bowere. Emanuel Lucar. John Wither. Wm. Bury. Richarde Mallorye. Henry Fisher. Xp'ofore Dawntesey. Ric. Chamberlyn. Henry Broune. Richarde Hilles. William Knight. William Gyfford. Ric. Broke. W. Bury.

chief justice of the common pleas, Henry Bradshaw chief baron of the exchequer, sir John Baker chancellor of the exchequer, sir Humfrey Browne justice of the common pleas, sir William Portman justice of the king's bench, sir Robert Bowes master of the rolls.

The king's serjeant. James Dyer.

The solicitor-general. John Gosnold.

Privy councillors. Sir John Mason, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Richard Sackville chancellor of the court of augmentations, sir Edward North, sir Anthony Sentleger, sir William Paget, sir Richard Southwell.

Knights of the king's privy chamber. Sir Thomas Wroth, sir Henry Sydney, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Richard Blount, sir Henry Gage.

The lord mayor. Sir George Barnes.

Aldermen (six). Sir John Gresham, sir Andrew Judd, sir Richard Dobbs, sir Augustine Hinde, sir John Lambard, sir Thomas Offley.

The king's sheriff of London and Middlesex. Sir William Garrard.

Sheriffs,—of Surrey, sir Anthony Browne; *of Kent,* Sir Robert Southwell.

Merchants of the staple (six), and merchant adventurers (six), as stated by Stowe (see before, p. 2.) In one or other of these characters attended sir William Hewitt, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, then or afterwards aldermen.

We miss the names of the attorney-general Edward Gryffyn and John Lucas master of the requests, which are among the signatures in p. 91, attached to the engagement made in the king's presence. The former retained his place in the service of queen Mary.

King Edward's Minutes for his Last Will, as transcribed by Secretary Petre.

(MS. Petyt 47, f. 416.)

These minutes contain only the less important items intended for the king's Will. It was probably proposed to combine them with a recital of the arrangements stipulated by the Letters Patent, and with a nomination of the executors or council who the king states in his Devise were to be appointed by his Last Will.

To bee conteyned in my last will, as parcell thereof: First, thatt during the yong yeres of any my heyre or successour, my executours shall nott agree to enter into any warres, except uppon occasion of invasion to be made by enemyes: nor, to the best of ther powers, shall suffer any quarell to be onjustly pyked by our subjectes wherof any warre may ensue.

Seconde, our sayd executours shall nott suffer any peece of relligion to be altred, And they shall diligently travayle to cause godly ecclesiasticall lawes to be made and sett forthe: suche as may bee agreable with the reformation of relligion now receyved within our realme, and that doone shall also cause the canon lawes to bee abolished.

Thyrdly, our sayd executours shall nott only follow the devises allredye begoon and agreed uppon for the payment of our debtes, butt also by other good meannes devise for the spedie payment of our sayd debtes.

Fowrthly, they shall consider to bee discharged all superfluous charges, bothe in th'excessive expenses of our howshold and chamber, and in the overgreatt number of cowrtes, by uniting the same according to the statute provided in thatt behalf, and such other superfluous charges.

Fyftly, my will is, that my sistars Mary and Elizabeth shall follow th'advise of my executours, or the more part of them, in ther mariages, And if they so doo, and will be bownde to lyve in quiett order, according to our appoyntment, and as by our sayd executors shall bee appoynted, we will, thatt they, and eythar of them, shall have of our gift one thousande powndes yerly, by way of annuite owt of our cofers. And if they doo marry by th'advise of our sayd executors, or the more part of them, then we will thatt eythar of them shall have towardes ther marinages, of our gift, ten thowsande powndes, over and above the money for ther mariages given by our father's bequest.

Syxtly, our pleasure is, thatt our sayd counsaylours shall nott agree to

give any landes or tenementes to any person in fee-simple or fee-tayle other than excheted landes: nother shall they grawnt any landes in fee-ferme, nor annuitees, butt only to suche as have served us, *and eyther hadd charge of v^c^ men in the felde, or have hadd charge of some sort uppon our frontyours, or have byn captaynes of shippes uppon the seea* (or shall serve our successour for the tyme being in some place of speciall trust:) [a] nor any leasses in reversion to any, other than to the servantes of our successour for the tyme being.

All our debtes to be payd with as moche speed as may be.

All injuries, if any have byn doone, to be recompensed; and the parties, ther heyres, or chyldren, recompenced, according to equite and good justice.

The college of S. Jones in Cambrige to have of our gifte in landes c^li^. by yere, towardes the mayntenaunce of ther charges.

A new college to be erected, to be endowed in landes to the dooble yerly rentes of the sayd college of S^t^. Jones, to be buylded upp and made by discretion of our executours, within the space of vij. yeres.

The grawnt made to the maior and cytey of London tochinge the Savoy and landes therof to be performed.

All such as have hadd grawnt of us of any landes, offices, or fees, to enjoy our grawnt.

All such as have payd ther moneys uppon any bargayn for landes, to have ther bookes and bargaynes performed.

To bee bestowed in high wayes, and to the power (*i. e.* poor), by discretion of our executours, the summe of (*blank*).

The king my father's tombe to be made upp.

Monumentes to bee made of the burialles of E. the iiij. and H. the vj^th^,[b]

[a] The words in italics are erased, and those in the parenthesis substituted.

[b] This, as well as in the preceding item, alludes to a non-executed clause in the will of his father King Henry: who, after directing his own tomb at Windsor, which was then "well onward and almoost made therefore alredye, with a fayre grate about it," to be completed, adds, with reference to two of his predecessors interred in Saint George's Chapel, "Also we will that the tombes and aultars of king Henry the vj. and also of king Edward the Fourth, our great-uncle and graunt-father, be made more princely in the same places where they now be, at our charges." All these directions were finally disregarded.

APPENDIX II.

Circular letter to the lieutenants of counties, announcing the accession of the lady Jane to the Crown.

Cecill, in the "submission" and apology which he presented to queen Mary on his meeting her at Newhall, (a document preserved in the MS. Lansdowne 104, and printed in Tytler's Edward the Sixth and Mary, vol. ii. p. 192,) alleges, "7. I eschewed the wrytyng of the Quenes highnes bastard, and therfore the duke wrote the lettre himself which was set abroode in the realm."

The very paper here alluded to, wholly in the writing of the duke of Northumberland, is now preserved in the Lansdowne MS. 3, art. 24. It is now printed with all its erasures and interlineations, the former shown by Italic types, the latter by parentheses, and the reader will thus be enabled to follow the thoughts of the wily politician in its composition :—

Ryght trusty and ryght welbeloved cousen. We grete yo^{u} well. Adu̅tising ye same that where yt hathe pleasyd (allmighty) God to call to his mercy out of this lyffe o^{r} deereste cousyne the Kinge yor late sou̅ayne L. By reason wherof And suche ordenāc̨ as the sayd late Kinge dydd establishe in his lyffe tyme for the securyte and wellthe of this Realme, we are enteryd into o^{r} rightfull possesyō of this kingdō as by the (laste wyll[a] of o^{r} sayd derest cosen o^{r} late p̨genyto^{r} and other) seu̅all instrumēt̨ to that affect, signed w^{t} his owne hand̨, and sealyd w^{t} the greate seale of *England* (this Realme[b]) in his owne p̄sence. *And the same beinge allso subscribyd w^{t} the handes of the mooste pte of the nobles of o^{r} Realme.* (Where unto the nobles of this Realme for the most pte, And all o^{r} Coun-

[a] By inserting this passage the duke assumed the existence of a Last Will. So far as we know, there was no such document, other than the Letters Patent, to which we find several writers concurring in applying the term "Will." Northumberland probably thought it convenient to adopt that term, because the country was already familiar with the fact that the Last Will of Henry VIII. had been legalised as limiting the succession. No doubt the Letters Patent were, almost from the first, spoken of as king Edward's Will, as Cranmer so wrote of them in his Apology to queen Mary.

[b] Here will be observed an attempt of the duke to give the great seal of "this Realme" an authority of its own, rather than merely its legitimate authority as testifying the will of the sovereign. This reliance upon the great seal was the very error which was fatal to him : see the note in p. 17.

cell & Judges w^{t} the mayor and alldermen of o^{r} cytty of London, and dyu͂s other greate officeres of this o^{r} Realme of England, have allso subscribed theyr names,) as by the same wyll & instrumētꝭ yt may more evydently (& playnly) apere. We therfor do yo^{u} to understand that by thordynaunce and sufferaunce of *god, the* the hevenly Lorde.[a] And by th'assent and consent of o^{r} sayde nobles. and councellors and others before specyfyed, We do this daye mak o^{r} entry into o^{r} tower of Londō as Rightfull quene. of this Realme and have accordingly. sett forthe. o^{r} ꝑclamat̃os. to all o^{r} lovinge subiectꝭ *of the same. a* (gyveinge theym therby to understand) theyr dutys of aledgeaunce w^{c} they now of Right owe unto us (as more amply by the same yo^{u} shall brefly ꝑceyve & understand) nothinge doubtinge Right trusty & Right welbelovid Cousen *in yor aprovide fydelite and trust* but y^{t} yo^{u} wyll indevour yor sylffe in all thingꝭ. to the utꝫmoste of yor powre (nat only) to deffend *and* (o^{r} just title *and possesyon* but allso to) assyst us in o^{r} rightfull posessyon of this kingdome and *t'extyrppe* to disturbe, repell and resyste the fayned and (untrue) clayme of the lady Mary. basterd doughꝫ to o^{r} *sayde derest Cousen and progenitor* great unckle Henry the eight of famous memory. Wherin as yo^{u} shall do that w^{c} to yor hono^{r} truthe and duty apertayneth. so shall we remƀ [the] same. unto yo^{u} and yo^{rs}. accordingly. *Willing and requir' all.* At o^{r} mano^{r} &c.

Indorsed by lord Burghley,

12 Julij 1553. first copy of a l're to be wryttē frō ye lady Jane, whā she cā to ye Tower, wryttē by ye Duk of Northūƀlā̃.

Two copies of this letter, having the sign-manual of "*Jane the quene*" prefixed, are in existence :

1. In the Lansdowne MS. 1236. It is the copy preserved by secretary

[a] This alteration of the name of "God" to "the heavenly Lorde," is not wholly undeserving of observation, because the latter expression was considered most acceptable to the Protestants. Bishop Gardiner, when examining a prisoner, is represented by Foxe as speaking contemptuously of such as had "the Lord" always in their mouths. In the letter as finally sent out, the expression was "the heavenly Lord and King."

Cecill, who has indorsed it subsequently with these fatal words, "*Jana nō Regina.*" It is thus dated:

"Yeven under our signet at our Toure of London the xth of July the first year of our reign."

And thus directed, "To our right trustie and right welbeloved cousyn and counsellor the lorde marques of Northampton, lieutenante of our counties of Surrye, Northampton, Bedford, and Berkshire."

The only alteration from Northumberland's draft, excepting the slight variation of expression in allusion to the Deity already mentioned in a note, is the following addition, continuing the authority of the persons to whom it was addressed:

"And our further pleasure is that you shall continue, doo, and execute every thing and thinges as our lieutenant within all places, according to the tenor of the commission addressed unto you from our late cousyn king Edwarde the sixte, in such and lyke sort as if the same had been, as we mynde shortely it shall be, renueedd and by us confirmed under our great seal to you."

This copy was edited by Sir Henry Ellis in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 269.

2. The other copy was certainly sent into the county of Surrey, and is preserved among the archives at Loseley House. The date is written by a different hand to the body of the document, and is the 11th not the 10th of July. The direction is thus, "To our right trusty and right welbeloved cousyn and counsellour the marques of Northampton, our lieutenant of our county of Surrey, and our trusty and welbeloved the deputies of that lieutenancye, and the sheriff and chief justices of peas and the worshypfull of that shire." From this copy the letter was printed in Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, ii. 183; in Nicolas's Memoir of Lady Jane Grey; and (somewhat less correctly) in Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts.

APPENDIX III.

List of State Papers of the reign of Queen Jane.

No documents belonging to the reign of queen Jane are inserted in Rymer's collection of Fœdera, &c.; but as several are extant, and are scattered about in various printed books, it is proposed here to assemble a complete catalogue of them. If the register of the privy council during its sittings in the Tower, under the authority of queen Jane, had been preserved, it would have furnished the best index to the state proceedings of the time; but, as no traces of its existence are apparent in our historical collections, it is probable that the whole was cancelled, and the register of queen Mary's council,[a] from its first sittings in Norfolk, adopted as the record of the legitimate rulers of the state.

Sir Harris Nicolas, in his Chronology of History, when treating of the reign of Jane, arrives at the conclusion that it was "most probably considered to have commenced on the 6th of July." He states that "the earliest public documents of the reign of Jane which have been discovered are dated on the 9th (alluding to the letter of the Council to the lady Mary), and the latest on the 18th." It will be perceived that these dates may be extended by one day at either end. By an act of parliament passed shortly after (1 Mar. cap. iv.) private instruments and writings bearing date in the reign of queen Jane, "since the 6th of July last past, and before the 1st of August then next following," were made good and effectual in law; but only one such instrument is now known to exist: it is a deed relating to a messuage in the parish of St. Dunstan's in Kent, and is dated on the 15th of July.[b]

1553.

July 8. Letter of the council to sir Philip Hoby, ambassador with the emperor, announcing king Edward's death.

Transcripts in MS. Harl. 523, f. 101. and in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. xii. f. 249 b.; printed in Strype's Memorials, 1721, ii. 430; in Howard's "Lady Jane Grey and her Times," 1822, 8vo. p. 233; and in Ellis's Orig. Letters, Third Series, iii. 309. The original draft is printed from the Cecill papers in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, 4to. vol. i. p. 182.

——— A similar letter to the French king.

Draft copy printed in Lodge's Illustrations, i. 183.

July 9. Letter from the lady Mary, under her signet, to the lords of the council, asserting her title, dated "at our manor of Kenynghall the ninth of July."

Printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, in Holinshed's Chronicle, and in Heylyn's History of the Reformation.

[a] This will be found described in a subsequent Catalogue of State Papers of the reign of queen Mary.

[b] "Dat. decimo quinto die Julij anno regni d'næ Janæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ, Fidei Defensoris atque in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremi capitis, primo." See the Retrospective Review, Second Series, i. 505.

July 10. The proclamation of queen Jane's accession. Printed by Richard Grafton for publication, as a placard, in black letter.

An original printed copy of this proclamation is in the collection at the Society of Antiquaries. It has been reprinted in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. Records to Book II. No. I.; in the Biographia Britannica, *tit.* Lady Jane Grey; in the Harleian Miscellany, (Park's edition,) vol. i. p. 405; in Cobbett's State Trials, i. 739; in Howard's Lady Jane Grey; and in Nicolas's Memoir and Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey. A French translation is printed in the Ambassades de Noailles.[a]

July 11. Letter of the lords to the lady Mary, rejecting her claim to the crown, and asserting the actual investiture of "our sovereign lady queen Jane:" signed by twenty-one councillors. It is dated "From the Tower of London, this ninth of July," but as that was the date of the lady Mary's letter written at Kenynghall in Norfolk (see p. 106), to which this was the reply, the latter must have been written two or three days later.

Printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, in Heylyn's History of the Reformation, and in Nicolas's Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, p. xlviii.

——— A letter from the council to the commissioners at Brussels; desiring them to announce king Edward's death to the emperor: sent by Mr. Richard Shelley.

Transcripts in MS. Harl. 523, and in MS. Cotton, Galba B. XII. very incorrectly printed in Howard's "Lady Jane Grey and her Times," p. 247, but correctly in Ellis's Orig. Letters, Third Series, iii. 310.

July 12. Letter under the queen's signet to the ambassadors at Brussels, directing sir Philip Hoby to remain resident with the emperor, and the other commissioners to continue there for negociating a treaty of peace: sent by the same bearer.

Transcripts in MS. Harl. 523, f. 43; and in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII.; printed in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iii. p. 5, Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 249 (the fac-simile of the queen's sign-manual there prefixed does not properly belong to this manuscript).

——— A letter from the council to the sheriff of Nottinghamshire and

[a] M. de Noailles au Roy, 13 Juillet 1553: "Le lendemain, qui fut un mardy unzieme, les proclamations de la dite royne, qui est vertueuse, sage, et belle, et qui promet beaucoup, furent attachez par les carrefours et lieux publics de cette ville, lesquels j'ay faict traduire et imprimer," &c. Ambassades, ii. 57.

1553. Derbyshire, and the justices of the peace of the same, desiring them to send forces to aid the duke of Northumberland.

Printed in the Retrospective Review, Second Series, i. 504.

July 15. Letter from sir Philip Hoby and sir Richard Morysine, commissioners at Brussels, to the council: in which lord Guilford Dudley is termed "king."[a]

Transcripts in MS. Harl. 523, f. 11 b; and in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII. Printed in Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 258, and in Nicolas's Memoir, p. lxiii.

——— A letter from the council to the sheriff and magistrates of Wiltshire, communicating the state of public affairs, that the lady Jane was in real and actual possession of the crown, and that the duke of Northumberland, &c. were going forth to suppress rebellion.

Original in the archives of the corporation of Tailors of Salisbury; printed in Hatcher's History of that city (Hoare's Modern Wiltshire,) fol. 1843, p. 266.

July 16. A second letter, under the queen's sign-manual, to the county of Surrey: addressed to the sheriff, justices, and gentlemen of the county, admonishing them not to credit the letters of the lady Mary.

Original at Loseley House, Surrey; printed in Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, Nicolas's Lady Jane Grey, and Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts. (The word left blank in the two former copies is "dominion.")

July 16. A letter, under the queen's sign-manual, to sir John St. Lowe and sir Anthony Kingstone, knts. commissioning them to muster forces, and to repair to Buckinghamshire to repress rebellion.

Original in Petyt's MSS. at the Inner Temple: printed in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. Appendix No. II.

[a] The Commissioners relate that the day before they had been visited by don Diego (?) who after congratulating them on the accession of "so noble and so toward *a prince*" made these further remarks: "Whether the two daughters be bastard or no, or why it is done, we that be strangers have nothing to do with the matter; you are bound to obey and serve *her majesty*, and therefore it is reason we take him for your king, whom the consent of the nobles of your country have declared for your king. I (saith he), for my part, of all others were bound to be glad that his majesty is set in this office; *I was his godfather*, and would as willingly spend my blood in his service as any subject that he hath, as long as I shall see the emperor my master so willing to embrace his majesty's amity."

July 17. Letter of sir Philip Hoby and sir Richard Morysine, ambassadors at Brussels, to the council, describing their audience the day before with the emperor.

Transcripts in MS. Harl. 523, f. 13; and in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII; printed in Howard's Life, p. 230; Nicolas's Memoir, p. lx.

July 18. A letter under sign-manual addressed to sir John Brydges and sir Nicholas Poyntz, in the same terms as that to sir John St. Lowe and sir Anthony Kingston above mentioned.

Original in MS. Harl. 416, f. 30: printed in Strype's Life of Cranmer, Appendix, No. LXX.; in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, iii. 670; and in the memoirs of lady Jane Grey by Howard and Nicolas. The queen's sign-manual prefixed to this document has been engraved in Hist. of Leic. pl. XCI. in Nichols's Autographs, 1829, pl. 19, and underneath the portrait prefixed to Sir Harris Nicolas's Memoir.

July 19. Letter of the council to lord Rich the lord lieutenant of Essex, requiring him to remain steadfast to queen Jane, notwithstanding the earl of Oxford had departed to the lady Mary.

Original, with the signatures of the council, in MS. Lansdowne, 3, No. 25, endorsed by lord Burghley "frō ye Coūnsell named Q. Janes coūsell. wryttē by sir Jhō Cheke." Printed in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. LXIX.

July 20. Charge of the council to Richard Rose pursuivant, sent to Cambridge to command the duke of Northumberland to disarm.

MS. Harl. 6069, f. 43, and f. 102. Printed in Stowe's Chronicle, and in Heylyn's History of the Reformation.

Both the two last contradictory documents were signed by the archbishop, the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, the lord chamberlain Darcy, sir Richard Cotton, sir William Petre, sir John Cheek, sir John Baker, and sir Robert Bowes. The earl of Arundel and lord Paget only signed the first: they started to join queen Mary immediately after her proclamation. Sir Thomas Cheyne also only signed the first. Sir W. Cecill and sir John Masone signed the second, but not the first.

—— Letter of the commissioners at Brussels to the council: reporting that the emperor had refused to receive sir Richard Shelley.

Transcript in MS. Harl. 523, f. 1; printed (in abstract) in Nicolas's Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, p. lxvi. This letter does not occur, like the others of the series, in the MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII. and has an important piece torn out in the Harleian MS.

A continuation of this Catalogue in the reign of queen Mary will be found in Appendix XIII.

APPENDIX IV.

Proclamations of the accession of Queen Jane and of Queen Mary.

The passages of the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, (MS. Cotton. Vitellius, F. xii.) referred to in the note at page 3, are as follow:

"Item, the vj. day of July dyde king Edward the vj. at Grenwyche, as they say, and some say he was powsynd, as it shall apere ar-after.[a]

"Item, the x. day of the same monythe, after vij. a clocke at nyghte, was made a proclamacyon at the crosse in Chepe by iij. harroldes and one trompet, with the kynges shreffe of London master Garrard, with dyvers of the garde, for Jane the duke of Suffolkes dowter to be the quene of Ynglond, (but few or none sayd God save hare,[b]) the wyche was browte the same afternone from Rechemond un to Westmyster, and soo un to the Tower of London by water.

"Item, the xix. day of the same monythe was sent Margarettes daye, at iiij. of clock at afternone was proclamyd lady Mary to be queene of Ynglond at the crosse in Chepe, with the erle of Shrewsbery, the erle of [Arundel][c], the erle of Pembroke, with the mayor of London and dyvers other lordes, and many of the aldermen and the kinges sheryff master Garrard, with dyvers harroldes and trompetts. And from thens came to Powels alle, and there the qwere sang *Te Deum* with the organs goyng, with the belles ryngyng as most parte alle. And the same nyght had the [most] parte of London to dener, with bone fyers in every strete in London, with good chere at every bon[e fyre], and the belles ryngyng in every paryshe cherche for the most parte all nyghte tyll the nexte day to none."

Though the proclamation of the accession of queen Jane was made in London on the 10th of July, and she was the acknowledged queen there until the 19th, scarcely any accounts are preserved of the example having been followed in other towns. It is probable that some such proclamations

[a] Such was the current report in London, as stated also in Machyn's Diary, p. 35.

[b] These words are added above the line.

[c] The words supplied are rendered necessary by the margin of the MS. having been burnt.

took place, but that all records of the errors so committed were carefully suppressed and cancelled on the proximate change of affairs. We only hear incidentally of queen Jane having been proclaimed at Berwick,[a] and at King's Lynn in Norfolk.[b]

There seems, however, to have existed a general disinclination to deviate from the legitimate line of inheritance, except in places under the immediate control of the duke of Northumberland. Even the protestant town of Colchester, which afterwards suffered so severely from the religious persecutions of Mary's reign, and sir Peter Carew, who the next year was prepared to rise in rebellion against her in Devonshire, were zealous in supporting her title to the succession. So also was bishop Hooper, who, the next year, was led to the stake.

The city of NORWICH is said to have been the first place in which queen Mary was proclaimed, and the event is thus recorded in one of its local chronicles:

"This year, the 6th of July, king Edward the VI. departed this world to God's mercy; and upon wednesday next after, being the 12th of July, the lady Mary was proclaimed queen within the city of Norwich."[c]

At the same crisis "the towne of GREAT YARMOUTH[d] did holde and kepe the towne for quene Marye, whoe lyenge then at Framingham castell in Suffolke, the towne sent one of there balifes to her majestie to signifye the townes faythfullnes and allegeance, whiche the said quene tooke in

[a] On Saturday the 15th of July Richard Troughton, dining at the George at Grantham, "met with Frenyngham; and I demaunded of hyme from whence he came, and he tolde me from Barwike, wher he had byne to proclame lady Jane." Narrative printed in the Archæologia, xxiii. 36.

[b] The lord Robert Dudley, queen Jane's brother-in-law, proclaimed her at King's Lynn, as appears by an ancient roll of the mayors: "1553. GEORGE REWLEY. This year the lord Roberte Dudley came to Linn, and proclaymed the lady Jeanne queene; and afterwards he was carried to Framingham before queene Mary." (Extract communicated by Daniel Gurney, esq. F.S.A.) In Richards's History of that town, pp. 694, 1193, this fact is mentioned, but lord Robert Dudley is miscalled lord Audley. His presence in that part of the country was owing to his marriage. His first wife, as is well known, was Amy, daughter of sir John Robsart. In Dec. 1550 the stewardship of the manor of Castle Rising and the constableship of the castle there (which is in the vicinity of the town of Lynn), were granted to sir John Robsart and sir Robert Dudley, and the longer liver of them. Strype.

[c] Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, vol. i. p. 145.

[d] Manship's History of Great Yarmouth, edited by C. J. Palmer, esq. F.S.A. 4to. 1847.

verye good parte, gevenge him her greate thankes and comendacion, promisenge to requite this the townes dutifulle kyndnes."

In like manner the town of COLCHESTER declared for queen Mary, and sent her provisions to Framlingham, the accounts for which were seen by Morant,—among other things, three tuns of beer, which cost iij*l*. xx*d*. and the carriage of the same, in six carts, came to iiij*l*. On the 26th July she came to the town on her way to London, when the corporation presented her with xx*l*. in gold, a cup of silver with a cover parcel-gilt weighing forty-one ounces, which at vij*s*. per oz. amounted to xiv*l*. vij*s*. and among other particulars in the chamberlains' account are, For xxxviii. dozen of bread xxxix*s*. For lix. gallons of claret wine xlviij*s*. Ten barrells of beer. A quarter of beef weighing five score and ten pounds, ix*s*. ij*d*. A side of beef weighing seven score and five pounds xij*s*. i*d*. A veal iv*s*. half a veal ij*s*. iv*d*. Two muttons ix*s*. iv*d*. &c.[a]

The sentiments of the people in Lincolnshire are depicted in the narrative of Richard Troughton,[b] bailiff of South Witham, who, according to his own account, was ready to fight any man in maintenance of queen Mary's title. This hero asserts that when riding from South Witham towards Stamford, early on the morning of the 12th of July, he heard from Stephen Amory, a clothier who had come out of Norfolk, that queen Mary had been already proclaimed at BURY. "Stephyn said, that hyr majesty was proclaymed at Bury, for he stode by and herde hyte." This story, if true, shows that Bury was even before Norwich in asserting Mary's right to the crown; but the early date assigned is scarcely credible in consistence with other accounts of the progress of events.

At Stamford Troughton breakfasted with the alderman (the chief magistrate of that town), and related to him the news he had heard, again heartily expressing his adherence to queen Mary. The alderman listened to him with caution, but secret approbation, and suffered him quietly to depart, though apparently not himself inclined to take an active part for either competitor.

A good deal follows as to the mustering of men to join the duke of

[a] Morant's History of Colchester, p. 30.

[b] Edited by Sir Fred. Madden in the 23d volume of the Archæologia, from the Harl. MS. 6224.—Some other papers about Troughton's business exist in the State Paper Office, being the depositions of Thomas Skinner alias Thomson, and Thomas Wymberley. It is worthy of remark that the person frequently mentioned by Troughton in his narrative as "my master," was sir William Cecill.

Northumberland; but no one seems to have ventured to proclaim either of the competing queens at Stamford, or Huntingdon, or Royston, or any neighbouring town, until the 19th of July, when the success of queen Mary became known, and her friends began to show their joy by bonfires and merry-makings. On the 21st Troughton assisted to proclaim her publicly at GRANTHAM, and he gives the following account of the transaction:

"Uppon satterdaye the xxjth of July I rode to Grantham, and there hit pleased the alderman and the masters of the towne to desyer myn advyse in settyng oute the quenes proclamation. To whom unsent for I resorted in that parte to do my duty. And I wyllyd them to wryte, Mary by the grace of God of Englond, Fraunce, and Irelond quene, &c. accordyng to the kynges stylle her grace's father, and in th' end to praye God save quene Mary. And so we wente to the market crosse, in the heryng of the countrie people, and solemply with the noise of shawmes iij. severall tymes blowen with distyncyon. Afterwardes one commaunded all men to kepe sylence, and here the quenes proclamacyon, as is abovemencyoned. And imedyatly after the proclamacion, praying God save the quene, I caste upe my hate, and than all the people, saying God save the quene, caste upe their cappes and hattes. And whan the people war quyeted I begane to singe *Te Deum laudamus*, and so we dyd syng hit solemply to th'end. And after that I caused the vycar to saye certeyn godly prayers, and the people prayd with hyme, whom the alderman caused to drynke, and so departed."

At COVENTRY "the duke of Northumberland sent to have the lady Jane proclaimed, but the mayor, being ruled by master Edward Sanders the recorder, would not do it, but having orders speedily proclaimed queen Mary."[a] The recorder was a Roman catholic, and soon after became chief baron of the exchequer.

At YORK[b] it is probable that when the lord mayor and council met on the 13th of July, the fact of king Edward's death was unknown: for the record of the meeting is headed "xiij° Julij A° R. R. E. vj^{ti} vij^{mo}," and a commission of the king dated 16 June was read. On the following day, the 14th, some intimation of the state of affairs in the metropolis had evidently been received, but with prudent caution the date is altered, not to

[a] Coventry MS. annals. See further extracts in p. 125.

[b] The minutes of the corporation of York have been kindly examined for me with a view to this inquiry, by Robert Davies, esq. F.S.A. late town clerk of that city.

the reign of a new sovereign, but to the year of our Lord, "A° D'ni 1553°," and so again on the 18th. No mention, however, is made of either queen Jane or queen Mary, nor indeed of any other public event, until a copy of queen Mary's proclamation is inserted, which was made known on the 21st and 22nd of July, but no particulars of the ceremony at York are recorded. Subsequently to this, the minutes are again dated by the year of the monarch's reign.

The historians of SHREWSBURY searched the records of that town without finding any memorials of the proclamations of Jane or Mary; but they notice an entry of the payment of 2*s.* to a servant (*famulo*) of the duke of Suffolk, who may have brought a letter on one or other of his ill-conducted risings.[a]

Even in WESTMINSTER the proclamation of queen Mary was two days later than in London, as is recorded in the register of St. Margaret's parish: "The xixth day was my lady Marye her grace proclamed queene in London, and the xxj^{ti} day in Westmynster."

Of what was done in DEVONSHIRE we have the following account in the biography of sir Peter Carew:

"Immediatlye after the death of the sayde kynge, there was a proclamacion conceved by the councell, and sente into the countre for the proclaymynge of queene Janne. Sir Peter Carewe, all be it he knewe very well that there was licke to ensewe a greate alteracion in relygion yf the lady Mary shoulde be proclaymed queene, and as he was well affected, so he utterlye dyd abhore yt, yet respectinge his faythe, dewte, and allegaunce to his naturall prince, and lytle regardinge what had bynne donne by a former proclamacion, dyd cause the sayd lady Mary to be proclaymed queene in too markett townes neere to the place where he then dwelled—the one in DARTEMOUTH, and the other at NEWTON ABBOT. And it was not lounge after but that the sayd lady Mary was proclaymed queene throughout the whole realme; and all be yt there were none who dyd coundeme this gentleman for his doinges, yet there were some of greate countenance and in high authoritie, which weare offended withe hyme because he hade not advertised unto theyme his owne bente, and the disposicion of the people in these countreis."[b]

[a] Hist. of Shrewsbury, by Blakeway and Owen, vol. i. p. 350.

[b] Archæologia, vol. xxviii. p. 119.

APPENDIX V.

Epistle of Poor Pratte to Gilbert Potter.

The reader is here presented with a copy of one of those libels* which it was customary to circulate in a written form, thrown down in some public place where they were likely to attract notice and meet with readers. The present writer had "scattered abroad" three other copies, and sent two "into the ragged beares camp,"—the army of the duke of Northumberland (see p. 120.) This "epistel" was therefore written before the failure of the duke's expedition was known; and the first copy no doubt on the 13th of July, the date mentioned in the title. A few days after, when queen Mary's authority was fully established, and when the Londoners were expecting her arrival in the city, some one—possibly not the writer himself, thought it likely to be saleable as a book. The printer, Hugh Singleton, was not a very flourishing tradesman, but his name is attached to a few publications, chiefly of a politico-religious character, ranging during the long period from 1550 to 1588. (See the Typographical Antiquities, by Dibdin, vol. iv. pp. 289—301.)

The incident which the writer seized as the vehicle of his sentiments, has been recorded by Stowe and by Machyn. When queen Jane was proclaimed in London, a young man named Gilbert Potter, whom Stowe calls Pot, and who was drawer at a tavern called the St. John's head within Ludgate, presumed to express his opinion that the lady Mary had the better title: in consequence, he was immediately arrested, and the next day he was set in the pillory in Chepe, whereto both his ears were nailed, and then clean cut off: after which he was taken back to the Compter. Stowe further states that the poor drawer "was accused by Ninion Saunders, his maister," who the same afternoon was drowned when shooting London bridge, together with John Owen, a gun maker, both holding the place of gunners at the Tower.

It appears that this zealous tapster did not go without recompence for his sufferings. On May 30, a° 1 of queen Mary, Gilbert Potter received a grant of several messuages, lands, &c. in South Lynn, Norfolk, formerly in the tenure of Thomas Winter, and belonging to Blackburgh priory, to be held by knight's service; and he also had license to alienate them to George and Thomas Eden. (Parkin's History of Freebridge Hundred, folio, p. 165.)

---

* The frequency of such papers at the time when the people were discontented with the prospect of the marriage with Spain in the following year, is thus described by Noailles:—"On seme journellement, tant à la court de ladicte dame que ailleurs, plusieurs placardz, lettres et aultres libelles diffamatoires à l'encontre d'elle et des seigneurs de son conseil, qui font assez de preuves, avecques beaulcoup d'aultres desportemens, de la maulvaise volunté de ses subjectz pour raison de son mariage," &c. Ambassades, iii. 248.

The following tract, of which there is no original copy in the library of the British Museum, is here copied from the Harleian Miscellany. The sentiments to which it gives utterance are remarkable, not only for their intense hatred of Northumberland, but for their expressions of fear that the gospel might be plucked away (see p. 118) if Mary's just title was defeated!

The copie of a pistel or letter sent to Gilbard Potter, in the tyme when he was in prison, for speakinge on our most true quenes part, the lady Mary, before he had his eares cut of. The xiij. of July.

Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?

Anno M.D.Liij. the firste of August.

[Duodecimo, containing sixteen pages.]

Poor Pratte, unto his frend Gilbard Potter, the most faythful and trew lover of quene Mary, doth him salute with many salutations. S.P.D.

Whereas thou hast of late showed thy selfe (most faithful Gilbard) to be a true subjecte to Mary, quene of England, not only by wordes but by deedes, and for the farther triall of thy true heart towardes her, did offer thy bodye to be slayne in her quarell, and offered up thy selfe into the hands of the ragged beare most rancke, with whom is nether mercy, pitie, nor compassion, but his indignation present death. Thy promis (Gilbard) is faythfull, thy heart is true, thy love is fervente towardes her grace; and, wheras you did promis me faythfullye (when I last visited thee in prison) "to be torne with wild horses, thou wouldest not denye Marye our quene," and to that whiche thou tofore dyd saye, no denial shalbe found in thee; so styll do thou continue in the same mynde, have a respect of thy conscience, feare not to saye the truth; if thou dye, thou shalt dye in the ryght; *Pugna pro patriâ*, "Fighte for thy countrey" (sayeth the philosopher). For, as it shalbe to thi great honour and prayse in this world, and in heaven, to dye in her grace's quarell, and in the defence of thy countrey; so wold it be to the utter destruction both of thy body and soule to do the contrarye. But (O thou true Gilbard) stand stiflye in her cause, and do thou according to thy last promis made me (as I do not doubt but thou wilt) then wil God kepe thee and preserve thee. If thou shuld dye, thou shalt dye innocent; so shal you be assured to possesse the everlastyng kyngdom of heaven. If you fortune to lyve, then shal it be also accompted praise to thee; and fully perswade with thy selfe, that her grace wil con-

sider thy faythful and true heart, as she hath juste occasion. For, who could have bene more faythfuller, then thou haste bene? What man coulde have showed him selfe bolder in her grace's cause, then thou hast showed? Or who dyd so valiantlye in the proclamation tyme, when Jane was published quene (unworthy as she was) and more to blame, I may say to thee, are some of the consenters therunto. Ther were thousandes more then thy selfe, yet durst they not (suche is the fragility and weakenes of the flesh) once move their lippes to speake that whiche thou did speake. Thou offerest thy selfe amongst the multitude of people to fight agaynste them all in her quarell, and for her honour dyd not feare to runne upon the poynt of the swordes. O faythfull subject! O true hearte to Mary our quene! I can not but wryte of the condign prayse that thou deservest for thys thy boldnes. I may compare thee to Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, whych, rather then they wold forsake their Mayster, were contented to suffer the tormentes in the hoate burnyng oven. And as young Daniel, when he was broughte before such a ruler (as that false duke of Northumberland), rather then to denye his Lord, would suffer the paynes of imprysonment, and to be cast in the denne of lions: even so (faythful Gilbard) rather then thou wouldest consente to their false and trayterouse proclamation for Jane, when thou dyd hear it, havyng a clear conscience, wold not consent to the same most trayterous fact. And, so little regarded thy life, boldly stode in thy mistres cause, and offered thy bodye to be imprisoned, and to suffer death, then to denye our vertuouse Mary to be quene. And therfore trust to it, my faythfull Gilbard, as the God of Sidrack, Misack, and Abdenago, saved them from al hurt in the hoat burnyng oven, that not so much as one heare of their heade was perished: so shall the same God save thee out of the handes of the cruell beare, and give hym no power of thy lyfe. Agayne, as God preserved Daniel when he was cast in the denne amongest the lions, at the commaundement of the king Nabuchodonosor: and, when he was in the middeste of them, the lions played with him, (which was admirable:) so do thou trust to, albeit thou art now in the denne amongest devourers (I meane under the power of the beare and ragged staf) yet the God of Daniel shall safely delyver thee out of all their handes; and the rather, if thou dost still continue stedfast, and hold on Mary our quene, and forsake thy mayster no more then Daniel and the brethren did their God and

mayster. Dispayre not, but lyve in hope to se a good day, and the soner will it come, if we continue in praier. For my part (faithful Gilbard) I wyl never sease day nor nyght from praying for our good Mary, that her grace might once obteyne the crowne, and that it wold please Him of his omnipotent power to strengthen and helpe her grace, Mary, thy quene and mine; so say I to the death, and to conquere that beare. So here I shall desire thee also to offer up to the Almighty Lord godly contemplations, that she maye overcome hir enemies.

For, as the inhabitants of the great city of Ninive continued in praier, and clothed them selves in sackecloth, caste duste upon their heades, repented, and bewailed their manifold sinnes and offences, at what tyme as the prophete Jonas had preached to them the destruction of their citye; knew that it was time to do al the same, els destruction wold folow: so shulde we now not sease praying to God to send us quietnes, and that the lady Mary might enjoye the kingdom.

For we have had manye prophetes and true preachers, whiche did declare unto us, that oure kinge shal be taken awaye from us, and a tyrant shal reygne; the gospel shall be plucked awaye, the right heyre shalbe dispossessed, and al for our unthanckfulnes. And thinkest thou not (Gilbard) the world is now come? Yea, truely. And what shal folow, yf we repent not in tymes. The same God wil take from us the vertuouse lady Mary, oure lawfull quene, and send such a cruel Pharao, as the ragged beare, to rule us; which shal pul and pol us, spoyle us, and utterly destroy us, and bring us in great calamities and miseries. And this God wil send us; and al for our iniquities. For, yf unto oure quene Mary any evell shuld happen, let us fully perswade with our selves, that it not for her small sinnes only, but for our evel livinges. And this litle troubles (whiche be grevous to hir grace) doth chaunse to her for thy sinnes and myne, let us so thinke. For truely (faythful Gilbard) God is displeased with us many wayes: and here, I dar be bold to say, that her grace is more sorowful for the death of king Edwarde her brother, then she is glad that she is quene. For her part (good vertuouse lady) she would have bene as glad of her brother's life, as the ragged beare is glad of his death. Agamemnon, the heathen king, was never more unquieted with his highe estate; when he lamented for that he was king over so manye people; as her grace is nowe troubled, to rule and

governe so manye evell persons. Plato was never gladder, when he was exiled from the kinges courte, because his mind was more addict therby, and geven to the study of philosophie; as she wold be, if she might once be exiled from the company of such traitours, wherby she might be more quieter, and possesse this hir kingdome peasablye. Even so, I dare advouche, that her grace was farre quieter, and better contented with her olde estate, then now she is quene, (yf it had pleased God.) But now, praised be Almighti God, because he hath so provided us a right and lawful ayre, and so vertuous a princesse, to possess this imperial crown of England; and so are we all bounde highlye to thanke him therfore. Trustyng that the same God wil shortlye exalt her grace, and set her in her perfect dignitie, and plucke downe that Jane; I can not nominate hir quene, for that I know no other quenes but the good lady Mary hir grace, whome God prosper!

I heare say (faythfull Gilbard) that the true subject, Sir Edmond Peckhame, is gone, with al his power and treasure, to assist her grace, *ex fructu scimus quid sit arbor;* "by the frute, we may knowe what the tree is:" So, by his frutes, that is, by all his doinges, we may knowe what he is; howe true and faythful hath he shewed him selfe to be at al times to Henry theight, of famous memory. What man deserved more commendation then he? He never robbed his grace, when he had al the rule of his treasure; he used not to buy silver for fowre shillinges an once, and make the kinge paye five shillinges fowre pence (as other false traitours did); but loke, what he payd, the kinge payde no more. He was ever true and faythfull by reporte, aswel of al other, as of hys owne servauntes. And now for the full triall of his true hearte, howe hath he showed him selfe to her grace? Left house, lands, and al, and gone to help her. Truly, we have to few such faythfull men. I heare also, that ther is come more to helpe her grace, the erle of Darbey, the erle of Oxford, the erle of Bath, and diverse other nobles, whiche I can not rehearse nominarly. The God of Hostes, the God of Abraham, prosper them, kepe them, and geve them power to withstand al their enemies; and the moost mighty Lord take part with them (as I do not mistrust) for the right sake! I hear no other newes, but that here is continually great preparation, and many cartes appoynted to carry harnes and artilery, God send them evell to spede! The good erle of Arundel

and the erle of Shrosburye be here still; but, as I am informed, the erle of Arundel will not consent to none of thir doynges. O God, I most hertely desire thee, heare my praier; kepe and preserve the good erle of Arundel from the tiranny of that devouryng beare. For, as thou hast from the beginning endued him with al truth; so doth he stil continue stedfaste in the same, like a worthy noble. Preserve hym, I beseche thee (O my God), and geve hym grace still to stande stedfaste. The earl of Shrosburye beareth hymselfe equal; God kepe hym! and send al those, that wolde the ladye Mary to be quene, long life and pleasure; and they which wold not, I wyshe them the paynes of Satan in hell.

I have (faythfull Gilbard) scattered abroad thre of the bokes more, and two also have I sent into the ragged beares campe. Kepe that close which thou hast; the world is daungerous. The great devell, Dudley, ruleth; (duke, I shuld have sayd): wel, let that passe, seing it is oute, but I truste he shall not longe. I have proved, if I could get a M. of them imprinted in some straunge letter, and so a nomber of them to be disparsed abroade.

Forasmuch (Gilbard) as I perceave that thou art strayghtly kept, and not suffred to have liberty, I shal brievely visite thee with my letters form time to time. And here, Gilbard, I exhort thee to continue in praier; and to take in good parte this yoke, layd upon thy shoulders, and beare this crosse patiently. For adversity is a good thinge, and shall make thee to know God the better. For I trust in the Lord, to live to se the day her grace to mary such one, as knoweth what adversity meaneth [a]; so shal we have both a merciful quene and king to their subjects. And wold to God that I might live (if it so pleased her grace) to have an other vertuouse Edward [a]! And God make her grace fruteful, and send hir frute to inherite the kingdom after her. I promised you to salute your frend Robert in your name: accordingly I have done, and desired hym to pray with you for our quene Mary, that it wold please the Lord to give hir the crowne, which she oughte to have of right. And thus, to breviate my long processe, I end; desiryng thee (my constant Gilbard) not to beholde the gorgiousnes of my letters, which be void of al; but to weygh in an equall payre of ballans the good wil of the writer; who beareth thee no worse wil, then to his owne

[a] These are evident allusions to Edward Courtenay.

soule: prayinge God to strengthen thee, and give thee grace to abide fayth-full towardes oure most excellent true and only quene Mary. So shalt thou be assured to have God thy faythfull frend againe; and, at the last, thou shalt inherit his kingdom: To the which kingdome, bringe both you and me, and us all. Amen.

Fayre you well.

Finis. Quod poore Pratte.

Imprynted at London, in Temstrete, over agaynste the Stiliardes, at the signe of the Dobbel Hood, by Hewghe Singelton.

APPENDIX VI.

PLEAS OF THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON AND EARL OF WARWICK.

The conduct of the marquess of Northampton and the earl of Warwick at the bar is thus related in the original account of the duke of Northumberland's trial, which was copied by Stowe and Holinshed (as given already in p. 16), omitting the following passages (here taken from a MS. collection of state trials, MS. Harl. 2194).

The marquess of Northampton pleaded to his indictment, that after the beginninge of these tumults hee had forborne the execution of any publique office: and that all the while hee, intent to huntinge and other sports, did not partake in the conspiracy; but it being manifest that hee was party with the duke of Northumberland, sentence passed on him likewise.

The earle of Warwicke, fyndinge that the judges, in soe greate a cause, admitted noe excuse of age, with greate resolucion heard his condemnacion pronounced against him, craving only this favour, that, whereas the goods of those who are condemned for treason are totally confiscated, yet her majestie would bee pleased, that out of them his debts might bee payd. After this they were all returned agayne to the Tower.

APPENDIX VII.

The second Insurrection of the Duke of Suffolk.

The flight of the duke of Suffolk is mentioned in p. 37 of the present volume, and his being brought back prisoner to the Tower of London in p. 53. No other record of his trial is known to be extant than that furnished by our chronicle at p. 60; neither are we informed of the object of his second rising against queen Mary, further than that he was induced to listen to some immature schemes, which seem to have contemplated the substitution of the princess Elizabeth (with the earl of Devonshire as her consort) for queen Mary (see Tytler, ii. 384), or at least the prohibition of the queen's proposed match with Philip. A material mistatement of an early historian (bishop Cooper) has helped to cast a doubt and mystery upon this matter. The only particulars known concerning it are as follow:

When the news first arrived in London that sir Thomas Wyat "was up in Kent," the duke of Suffolk was resident at his house, late the Carthusian monastery of Sheen,[a] in the parish of Richmond, Surrey. Whatever part he may have undertaken to perform in the conspiracy, he was scarcely prepared to execute it;[b] but, to avoid arrest, he fled hastily to his own estates in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. According to our Chronicle this took place on the 25th of January; a letter of the earl of Shrewsbury states, that it was on friday the 26th: "The duke of Suffolk is on friday stolen from his house at Shene, and run away, with his two brethren, to Leicestershire; for he was met at Stony Stratford. My lord of Huntingdon is gone into those parts after him, with *(blank)* against him. The duke is proclaimed traitor."[c]

[a] It had been granted to him on the attainder of Edward duke of Somerset in 1552. Queen Mary in Jan. 1556-7 re-established the Carthusians in this house. To revert to a point considered in a former note, p. 2, Queen Jane, on her accession, may have come down the river from her father's at Sheen, instead of her father-in-law's at Syon, which will agree with Richmond being named in the Grey Friars' Chronicle (p. 110, antea).

[b] In consequence of their names having been betrayed by the earl of Devonshire to the lord chancellor, the conspirators, says Noailles, (who was in their confidence,) had been driven to take arms six weeks or two months earlier than they had intended. Lettre au Roy, 25 Jan. 1553, Ambassades, iii. 43.

[c] Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. History, vol. i. p. 189.

Bishop Cooper asserted in his Chronicle, that the duke during his journey, "in divers places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter, but the people did not greatly incline to him."

This statement is certainly untrue; if the duke had so done, it would have been alleged against him at his trial. His professed object was identical with Wyat's, to oppose the queen's alliance with Spain, and he "made proclamation only to avoid strangers out of the realm." (see p. 60.)

Indeed, the distinct contradiction which Holinshed makes to the report that the duke had again proclaimed his daughter as queen, was evidently directed against bishop Cooper's assertion,[a] though he is not mentioned by name. This contradiction is given both by Holinshed and Stowe, as follows: "Where some have written, that he shoulde at his last going downe into the countrey make proclamation in his daughter's name, that is not so; for whereas he stoode by in Leicester, when by his commaundement the proclamation was there made against the queenes maryage with the prince of Spain, &c. master Damport,[b] then maior of that towne, said to him, 'My lord, I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the queenes majesty.' 'No,' saith he, 'master maior,' laying his hand on his sword, 'he that would her any hurt, I would this sword were through his heart; for she is the mercifullest prince, as I have truly founde her, that ever reigned, in whose defence I am, and will be, readie to die at her foote."

Holinshed correctly says, that the duke, "in the towne of Leycester and other places,[c] caused proclamation to be made in semblable wyse as sir Thomas Wiat had done, against the queenes matche, which she ment to make with the sayd king of Spain, but fewe there were that woulde willingly harken thereto.

"But now ye must understande, that before his comming downe hee was persuaded that the citie of Coventrie woulde be opened unto him, the more

[a] Some writers, notwithstanding, have carelessly or injudiciously preferred the story of Cooper. It was followed by De Thou, and other foreign historians; and so some credit has continued to be given to it, even by our native writers; among others by Mr. Lodge, in his memoirs both of lady Jane Grey and the duke of Suffolk, and in his Illustrations of Brit. History, i. 138; and Miss Strickland, Lives of the Queens, v. 330.

[b] Thomas Davynport. Hist. of Leicestershire, i. 394.

[c] One of these was Melton Mowbray; see an allusion to the circumstance in Richard Troughton's narrative, Archæologia, xxiii. 48.

part of the citizens being throughly bent in his favour, in so necessarie a quarrell for defence of the realme against straungers as they were then persuaded. But, howsoever it chaunced, this proved not altogither true; for, whether through the misliking whiche the citizens had of the matter, or throughe negligence of some that were sente to sollicite them in the cause, or chiefly, as should seeme to be most true, for that God woulde have it so, when the duke came with sixe or seaven score horsemen well appointed for the purpose, presenting himselfe before the citie, in hope to be receyved, hee was kept oute. For the citizens, through comfort of the earle of Huntingdon that was then come downe, sent by the queene to staye the countries from falling to the duke, and to rayse a power to apprehende him, had put themselves in armor, and made all the provision they coulde to defende the citie againste the sayde duke; whereupon, perceyving himselfe destitute of all such ayde as hee looked for among his frends in the two shires of Leicester and Warwick, he got him to his manour of Astley, distant from Coventrie five myles, where appoynting his companie to disperse themselves, and to make the best shift eche one for his owne safegard that he might, and distributing to everye of them a portion of money, according to their qualities, and his store at that present, hee and the lorde John Grey his brother bestowed themselves in secrete places there within Astley Parke; but throughe the untrustynesse of them to whose trust they did commit themselves, as hath bene credibilye reported, they were bewrayed to the earle of Huntingdon, that then was come to Coventrie, and so apprehended they were by the sayde earle, and afterwardes brought up to London.

"The duke had ment at the first to have rid awaye (as I have credibilye hearde), if promise had been kept by one of his servaunts, appoynted to come to him to bee his guyde; but when he, either feyning himselfe sicke, or being sicke indeede, came not, the duke was constrayned to remayne in the parke there at Astley, hoping yet to get awaye after that the searche had bene passed over, and the countrie once in quiet. Howsoever it was, there he was taken, as before is sayde, togither with his brother the lord John Grey."

Some further traditional particulars of the duke's capture are thus given by Dugdale in the History of Warwickshire: "Finding he was forsaken, he put himself under the trust of one Underwood, as 'tis said, a keeper of his park here at Astley, who hid him some few days in a large hollow tree

there, standing about two bow-shoot south-westwards from the church: but, being promised a reward, betray'd him."

In the MS. annals of Coventry, the two attempts of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk upon its loyalty are blended as if they had been immediately in connection:

"1554. The duke of Northumberland sent to have the lady Jane proclaimed; but the mayor, being ruled by Mr. Edward Sanders, the recorder, would not doe it, but having orders speedily proclaimed queen Mary. Then was taken in Coventry great store of armour; and there was a cry that the city was firing in four places, which caused the common bell to be rung, the gates shut, and the walls manned, but there was no hurt. The duke of Suffolk was brought prisoner, and kept in alderman Warren's house,"—where our own chronicle (p. 54) states that he remained for three days.

The following entries occur during the same year in the Accounts of the trading companies of that city.[a]

Drapers' Company.—"Md. that we have payd for our occupacyon on the xxxj daye of Januarye, when the duke of Suffolk was takyn. Payd for wachynge to the harnys men for vij dayes and viij nyghts, lviij*s.* vj*d.*"

Carpenters.—"Payd a man for wachyng v dayes and v nyghts, iiij*s.* ij*d.*"

Cappers.—"P'd to iij sowdyers, for iij dayes and iij nyghtes wachyng, iiij*s.* vj*d.* P'd to iij men y^t^ wached duryng ye tyme of ye erle of Huntingdon lyeng hear, xxvj*s.* vj*d.* Payd to Wyllyam Sturrop, for ij sheffe of aros, vj*s.* Rec. of ye craft towards pament of the wachement, xx*s.*"

Dyers.—"P'd for harnessyng ij men for wachyng iij dayes for the quenes besynes, iij*s.* P'd more for harnessing them iij nyghts, ij*s.* P'd for preste money, xij*d.*"

Smiths.—"The dewke of Northehumberland. Item, bowght of John Skelton, smyth, a payer of Allemane ryvetts, lakyng ij taces, and a gorgett, viij*s.* Item, paid for canves to lyne the gorgett, iij*d.*; a byll, xx*d.*; lynyng of iij gorgetts, ij*d.*; a gyrdell, ij*d.*; a dossen of poynts, ij*d.*; a bowe strynge, *ob.*; to the harnes men at Saynt Mary Halle, vj*d.*; for iij Scotts cappes, v*s.*; a gesterne, v*s.*; a braser and a schotyng glove, viij*d.*; a payer of spelnths, xx*d.*; to the harnes men when they went to the Graye Fryer yatt, ij*s.*; iij harnes men for ther wages, xviij*d.* The second daye wages,

[a] For the communication of these I am indebted to Mr. William Reader, late of Coventry, a member of the Camden Society.

xviij*d.*; mendynge of a gesterne, viij*d.*; lether and naylls to mend the harnes, 1*d. ob.*

"The Duke of Suffolke. It'm, p'd for prest money to the harnes men, vij*s.* vj*d.*; iij men wages for iij days and iij nygtts, vij*s.* vj*d.*; a man wages, viij*d.*; iij days and ij nygtts wages, viij*s.* vj*d.*; iiij nygtts and iij days wages, vij*s.*; ij nygtts wages, ij*s.*; ij dossen poynts, iiij*d.*"

Holinshed continues,—"but his brother the lord Thomas gotte awaye in deede at that time, meaning to have fledde into Wales, and there to have got to the sea side, so to transport himselfe over into Fraunce, or into some other forren part: but in the borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended, through his great mishappe, and folly of his man, that had forgot his cap-case with money behinde in his chamber one morning at his inne, and comming for it again, uppon examination what he shoulde be, it was mis-trusted that his master shoulde be some suche man as he was in deede, and so was stayde, taken, and brought up to London, where he suffered."

This unfortunate occurrence seems to have ensued after lord Thomas Grey had lain concealed for about two months. Mr. Robert Swift, in his letter[a] to the earl of Shrewsbury, April 12, 1554, writes that the lord Thomas Grey "was taken goynge towardes Walles, and is cumyng up." A MS. chronicle of Shrewsbury supplies the place where and the person by whom he was apprehended. "The lord Thomas, brother to the ducke of Suffolke, was taken at Oswestrie in Wales by master Rycharde Myttoon of Shrosbery, being then bayliffe; which felle out at leangthe to the sayde master Myttoon's greate hynderance." Upon this the historian of Shrewsbury remarks,—"what this was does not appear. Mr. Mytton's first wife was daughter to sir Edward Grey of Envile, who, as a kinsman of the fugitive, might be offended with his son-in-law for thus arresting his relation, and might find means, in the disposal of his effects, to signalize his resentment: but the truth of this is only to be known by those who can search into the private papers of this ancient family, if any such remain, of the period in question."[b]

Modern writers are generally content to characterise the duke of Suffolk as a very weak man,—a judgment which his conduct throughout the

[a] Lodge's Illustrations of British History, i. 190.

[b] History of Shrewsbury, by Owen and Blakeway, i. 351.

period embraced in the present volume seems abundantly to justify. His friends had, however, something to allege in his praise; and the following character of him, fuller than was usually bestowed upon great men by the chronicles of his age, appears in the pages of Holinshed, and may appropriately close the present note:

"Suche was the ende of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by byrthe, and of nature to his friendes gentle and courteous, more easie in deede to be led than was thought expedient, of stomacke nevertheless stoute and hardie, hastye and soone kindled, but pacified streight againe, and sorie if in his heate ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seeme to beare; upright and plaine in his private dealing, no dissembler, nor well able to beare injuries, but yet forgiving and forgetting the same, if the partie woulde seeme but to acknowledge his fault, and seke reconcilement. Bountifull hee was and very liberall, somewhat learned himselfe, and a greate favorer of those that were learned, so that to many he showed himself a very Mecænas; no lesse free from covetousnesse than voide of pride or disdainful hautinesse of mind, more regarding plaine-meaning men than clawback flatterers: and this vertue hee had, he coulde patiently heare his fautes told him, by those whom he had in credit for theire wisedome or faithful meanings towards him, although sometime he had not the hap to reforme himself thereafter. Concerning this last offence for the which he died, it is to be supposed he rather toke in hand that unlawfull enterprice through others' perswasion than of his owne motion, for anye malicious ambition in himselfe."

Mr. Lodge might have properly made this character an accompaniment to the excellent portrait of the father of queen Jane, which is engraved in Harding's collection of Illustrious Personages.

APPENDIX VIII.

The Watch at the Court and in the City, on the Eve of Wyat's attack.

(Extracted from MS. Harl. 425, p. 94.)

Edward Underhyll, "the hot Gospeller,"—we have his own authority that this designation was given him by some who were inclined to ridicule his Protestant zeal,—has passed into a character of some historical repute in the pages of Strype, Strickland, and Ainsworth, though he owes the preservation of his name from entire oblivion to a single document, a sort of auto-biographical narrative of his persecutions and difficulties. Miss Strickland, who incorrectly terms his narrative a diary, has expressed an earnest wish that the whole of this "most precious document" were recoverable. To those who have joined her in that wish it may be some satisfaction to know that it is safe in the Harleian Collection. It may claim attention from the conductors of the new edition of the works of Strype, now in progress, though that historian has already published the substance of its best portions.

The following passage, which graphically describes the state of alarm, both at the court and in the city, during Wyat's rebellion, will be found interesting. The night adventure at Ludgate and Newgate is passed over by Strype; and the latter part, which tells of the skirmishing near the palace, has been widely misunderstood by Miss Strickland.

Sir Homffrey Rattclyffe was the levetenauntt off the pencyonars, and alwayes favored the Gospelle, by whose meanes I hadd my wagis stylle payde me. When Wyatt was cume into Southwarke, the pencyonars weare commaunded to wache in armoure thatt nyght at the courte, whiche I hearynge off, thought it best in lyke suerte to be there, least by my absens I myght have sume quarell piken unto me, or att the least be strekon off the boke for reseavynge any more wagis. After supper I putt one my armoure as the rest dide, for we weare apoynted to wache alle the nyght. So beyng alle armed, wee came uppe into the chamber of presens with ower pollaxes in ower handes, wherewith the ladies weare very fearefulle; sume lamentynge, cryinge, and wryngynge ther handes, seyde, "Alas, there is sume greate mischeffe towarde; we shalle alle be distroyde this nyght! Whatt a syght is this, to se the quenes chamber full of armed men; the lyke was never sene nor harde off." Then Mr. Norres, who was a jentyllman ussher of the utter chamber

in kynge Henry the viij^tes tyme, and all kyng Edwardes tyme, alwayes a ranke papist, and therfore was now the cheffe ussher off quene Maryes privy chamber, he was apoynted to calle the wache, to se yff any weare lackynge; unto whome Moore, the clarke of ower cheke, delyvered the boke of ower names, wiche he parused before he wolde calle them att the curbarde, and when he came to my name, "Whatt (sayd he) whatt dothe he here?" "Syr (sayde the clarke) he is here redy to sarve as the rest be." "Naye, by God's body! (sayde he) that herytyke shall not wache heare; gyve me a pene." So he stroke my name owt off the boke. The clarke of the cheke sought me owte, and sayde unto me, "Mr. Underhyll, yow nede nott to wache, yow maye departe to your logynge." "Maye I? (sayde I) I wolde be glade off thatt," thynkynge I hadde byn favored, because I was nott recovered off my sykenes: butt I dyde not welle truste hym because he was also a papist. "Mary, I depart in dede (sayd I), wylle yow be my discharge?" "I tell yow trew (sayde he), Mr. Norres hathe strekon you owt off the boke, sayng these wordes 'That herytyke shall nott wache here;' I tell you trwe what he sayde." "Mary, I thanke hym (sayde I), and yow also; yow could nott do me a greater plesure." "Naye, burden nott me withall (sayde he), it is nott my doynge." So departed I into the halle where ower men weare apoynted to wache. I toke my men with me, and a lynke, and wentt my wayes. When I came to the courte gate, ther I mett with Mr. Clement Througemartone, and George Feris, tindynge ther lynges to go to London. Mr. Througemarton was cume post frome Coventry, and hadde byne with the quene to declare unto her the takynge of the duke of Suffoke. Mr. Feris was sentt from the councell unto the lorde William Hawwarde, who hadde the charge of the whache att London bryge. As we wentt, for thatt they weare bothe my frendes, and protestanes, I tolde them my goode happe, and maner of my discharge off the whache att the cowrtt. When we came to Ludegate it was past a leavene of the cloke, the gate was fast loked, and a greate wache within the gate off Londonars, but noone withowte, whereoff Henry Peckham hadde the charge under his father, who belyke was goone to his father, or to loke to the water syde. Mr. Througemartone knoked harde, and called unto them, saynge, "Here is iij or iiij jentyllmen cum from the courte thatt must come in, and therfore opon the gate." "Who?" cothe one, "Whatt?" cothe another, and moche laughynge they made. "Cane ye tell what ye doo, syrs?" sayd Mr. Througmartone, declarynge his name,

and that he hadd byne with the quene to showe her grace off the takynge off the duke off Suffoke, "and my logynge is within, as I am sure sume off you do know." "And," sayde Ferris, "I am Ferris, that was lorde off misrule with kynge Edwarde, and am sentt from the councell unto my lorde William, who hathe the charge of the brige, as yow knowe, uppon weyghtie affayres, and therfore lett us in, or eles ye be nott the quenes fryndes." Stylle there was mouche laughynge amoungst them. Then sayd too or three off them, "We have nott the keyes, we are nott trusted with them; the keyes be carryed awaye for this nyghte." "Whatt shall I do?" sayde Mr. Througemartone, "I am wery and faynte, and I waxe nowe colde. I am nott aquaynted here abowte, nor no mane dare opone his doores in this daungerous tyme, nor I am nott able to goo bake agayne to the courte; I shall perishe this nyght." "Welle (sayde I) lett us goo to Newgate, I thynke I shalle gett in ther." "Tushe (sayde he), it is butt in vayne, we shalbe aunswered ther as we are here." "Welle (sayde I) and the worst fall, I can loge ye in Newgate; yow know whatt acquayntaunce I have ther,[a] and the keper's doore is withowte the gate." "That weare a bade shifte (sayde he), I shoulde almost as lyffe dye in the stretts; yett I wyll rather wander agayne to the court." "Welle, (sayde I) lett us goo prove. I beleve the keper wyll healpe us in att the gate, or eles lett us in thorow his wardes, for he hatthe a doore on the insyde also; yff all this fayle I have a frend att the gate, Newmane the ierinmounger, in whose howse I have byne logede, where I dare waraunt yow we shall have logynge, or att the lest howse-rome and fyer." "Marye, this is wel sayde," (sayethe Ferris;) so to Newgate we wentt, where was a greate wache withowte the gate, wiche my frende Newmane hadde the charge off, for that he was the cunnestable. They marveled to se those torches cumynge thatt tyme off the nyght. When we came to them, "Mr. Underhyll (sayde Newmane), whatt newes, thatt you walke so late?" "None butt goode (sayd I); we cum from the cowrte, and wolde have goone in att Ludgate, and cannott be lett in, wherfore I pray yow yff yow cannott helpe us in here, lett [us] have logynge with yow." "Mary, that ye shall (sayde he), or go in att the gate, whether ye wille." "Godamercy, gentyll frende (sayde Mr. Througemartone); I praye you lett us goo in yff it maye be." He called to the cune-

[a] Underhyll had been recently discharged from imprisonment in Newgate, to which he was committed by the privy council, for the contents of a ballad he had "put forth in print" on the queen's accession. See Strype, Memorials, iii. 61.

stable within the gate, who opened the gate forthwith. "Now happye was I (sayde Mr. Througemartone) that I mett with you, I hadd byne lost eles."

When Wyatt was cum abowte, notwithstandynge my discharge of the wache by Mr. Norres, I putt on my armoure and wentt to the courte, where I founde all my felowes armed in the halle, wiche they weare apoynted to kepe that daye. Old syr John Gage was apoynted withowte the utter gate, with sume off the garde and his sarvantes and others with hym; the rest off the garde weare in the greate courte, the gattes standynge opune. Sir Rychard Southwell had the charge of the bakesydes, as the woodeyarde and thatt waye, with v^c^ men. The quene was in the galary by the gatehowse. Then came Knevett and Thomas Cobam, with a company of the rebelles with them, thorow the gatehowse, from Westmester,[a] uppon the sodein, wherewith syr John

[a] This is a point which was misunderstood by our chronicler, in the passage at p. 49, beginning, "At Charing crosse there stood the lord chamberlayne," &c., and also by John Proctor, the person who undertook to be the historian of Wyat's rebellion. The attack on Whitehall did not come from Charing Cross, but from the Westminster side. The former was a natural supposition with those who were not apprised of the exact circumstances; but they are fully explained by Holinshed. The party which threatened the palace of Whitehall was, in fact, the same which our own chronicler describes (p. 48) as "Cutbart Vaughan and about ij auncyentes," who "turned downe towards Westminster," when Wyat's band was first attacked and disjointed near Saint James's palace. Underhyll, it is seen above, calls their captains "Knevett and Thomas Cobham," and Holinshed says they were commanded by Knevett. There were two of that name, Anthony and William; and our chronicler seems to say (p. 50), that both Thomas Cobham and William Knevett were arrested with Wyatt at Temple bar. But they may have surrendered at Charing cross. Whoever the leaders of the party were, the facts of the slight attack which they made on Whitehall are very clearly related by Holinshed, who, after describing the charge made by the earl of Pembroke's horsemen near Saint James's palace, adds that "certaine of his companie, which escaped the charge, passed by the backeside of Saint James towardes Westmynster, and from thence to the courte, and finding the gates shut agaynst them, stayed there a while, and shotte off many arrowes into the wyndowes and over into the gardeyne, neverthelesse without any hurt that was knowne. Whereupon the sayde rebelles, over whom one Knevett was captaine, perceyving themselves to be too fewe to doe any great feate there, departed from thence to followe Wyat, who was gone before towardes London; and, being on their way at Charing crosse, were there encountered by sir Henry Jerningham captain of the queenes garde, sir Edwarde Bray maister of the ordinaunce, and sir Philippe Parys, knightes, which were sent, by the order of the earle of Pembroke, with a bande of archers, and certaine fielde peeces, for the reskue of the court; who encountered the sayde rebelles at Charing crosse aforesayde, after they had discharged the fielde peeces upon them; joyned wyth those rebelles, halfe

Gage and thre of the jugeis,[a] thatt were menly armed in olde bryggantynes, weare so fryghtede thatt they fledd in att the gattes in suche hast thatt old Gage fell downe in the durte and was foule arayed; and so shutt the gates. Wheratt the rebelles shotte many arowes. By meanes of the greate hurliburli in shuttynge of the gattes, the garde thatt weare in the courte made as greate haste in att the halle doore, and wolde have cum into the halle amongst us, wiche we wolde not suffer. Then they wentt throungynge towardes the watergate, the kycheyns, and those ways. Mr. Gage came in amoungst us all durt, and so fryghted thatt he coulde nott speke to us; then came the thre jugeis, so fryghtede thatt we coulde nott kepe them owte excepte we shulde beate them downe. With thatt we issued owt off the halle into the courte to se whatt the matter was; where ther was none lefte butt the porters, and, the gattes beyng fast shutt, as we wentt towardes the gate, meanynge to goo forthe, syr Rycharde Southewell came forthe of the bake yardes into the courte. "Syr (saide wee) commaunde the gates to be opened thatt we maye goo to the quenes enemyes, we wyll breake them opone eles; it is to mouche shame the gates shulde be thus shutt for a fewe rebelles; the quene shall se us felle downe her enemys this daye before her face." "Masters," sayde he, and putt off his muriane off his heade, "I shall desyer yow alle as yow be jentyllmen, to staye yourselves heare thatt I maye

armed and halfe unarmed, at the pushe of the pyke, and very soone dispersed theyr power, whereof some fledde into the lane towarde Saint Gyles, and some on the other syde by a brewhouse towardes the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there was not founde slayne to the number of twentie of those rebelles, which happened by reason that uppon theyr joyning wyth the queenes souldiours, the one parte coulde not bee discerned from the other, but onely by the myre and dyrt taken by the way, which stacke uppon theyr garments comming in the night; wherefore the cry on the queenes part that day was, Downe with the daggle-tayles."

To this relation Proctor supplies only one additional fact, namely, that while the court gates were open, "one maister Nicolas Rockewod, being a gentleman of Lyncolnes inn, and in armour at the said court gate, was shotte through hys nose with an arrowe by the rebels. For the commingo of the said rebels was not loked for that way." The Nicholas Rokewode here mentioned adds another name to the list of legal warriors on this occasion (see the note before, in p. 40). His name occurs in the evidences of the Rokewode family as connected with some marriage settlements in 1548, but his place in the pedigree is not assigned to him (Collectanea Topog. et Geneal. ii. 140).

[a] These judges were those of the common pleas. "This daye the judges in the common place at Westminster satte in armoure."—Proctor.

goo upe to the quene to knowe her plesure, and yow shall have the gates oponed; and, as I am a jentyllman, I wyll make spede." Uppon this we stayde, and he made a spedie returne, and brought us worde the quene was contentt we shoulde have the gates opened. "But her request is (sayde he) that yow wyll not goo forthe off her syght, for her only trust is in yow for the defence of her parsone this daye." So the gate was opened, and we marched before the galary wyndowe, wheare she spake unto us, requyrynge us, as we weare jentyllmen in whome she only trusted, thatt we wolde nott goo from thatt place.[a] Ther we marched upe and downe the space off an ower, and then came a harrolde postynge to brynge newes that Wyatt was taken. Immediately came syr Mores Barkeley and Wyatt behynd hym, unto whome he dyd yelde att the Temple gate, and Thomas Cobam behynde ane other jentyllman.

Anone after we weare all brought unto the quenes presentes, and every one kyssed her hande, off whome we hadde greate thanks, and large promises how goode she wolde be unto us; but fewe or none off us gott any thynge, although she was very liberall to many others thatt weare enemys unto God's worde, as fewe off us weare.

[a] The anecdote which Proctor gives of Mary's personal conduct at this alarming crisis may be properly appended to the above:—"In so muche divers timerous and colde-hearted souldioures came to the queene, crying, All is lost: away, away; a barge, a barge! Yet her grace never chaunged her chere, nor woulde remove one foote out of the house, but asked for the lord of Pembroke, in whom her grace had worthely reposed great confidence. Answere beinge made that he was in the fielde, 'Well then, (quod her grace,) fal to praier, and I warrant you we shal heare better newes anone; for my lord will not deceave me I knowe well: yf he would, God wyll not, in whom my chiefe trust is, who will not deceave mee.' And in dede shortlye after newes came all of victorie, how that Wyat was taken." Proctor gave the best face he could to the whole affair; but the truer account is evidently that of our own chronicle, which admits that at one time the queen had determined to go to the Tower forthwith (p. 48), whereupon, of course, her barge would be ordered to be in readiness; and also records the suspicion entertained, when the rebels were allowed to pass, that the earl of Pembroke had gone over to Wyat's part (p. 49).

APPENDIX IX.

Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council relative to the reception of King Philip and the Spaniards, and preparations for the Queen's marriage.

(MS. Harl. 643, f. 26.)

At St. James's, 26th May 1554.—A letter to Mr. Weldon and Mr. John Dodge remaining at Southampton; willinge them to cause the marquess de las Navas, yf he lande thereabouts,[a] to be honorably receaved and entertained, and to signifye his arrival hether with speede.

At Richemond, 3d of June.—A letter to the maiore and his bretheren of Southampton, to putt themselves in redines, and to receive the prince of Spaine, and to cause such boates as they shall thinke meete for the purpose to be trimed barke-like, in the seemelieste and richeste manner they can.

At Richemond, 13th June.—A letter to John Norris, gentleman usher, signifienge the lord chamberlene hath given order for the hanginges he wrotte for, and that he should cause convenyente and decente stages to be made in the Trinity church [at Winchester] for the marryage, after such form as shalbe declared unto him by Garter kinge at armes, who is sente thither to instruct him therin.

At Richemond, 25th of June.—A letter to the lord Dudleye, willinge him, where he hath determyned to give such liveries as the prince of Spane giveth, to desiste therefrom, forasmuch as the same shoulde be unfitting, the prince's liverye beinge a speciall note whereby his servants may be knowne.

At Richemond, 13th June.—A letter from the queene to the maiore of Salesbureye, willinge him, in consideracion that many ambassadores shall repaire thether who drinke only wine, to cause foure or more of the saide

[a] This marquess eventually disembarked at Plymouth, "where he was honourably received by the bishop of Lincoln and other noblemen, besides the admiral, who gave him a salute, which lasted a long time." Despatch of Simon Renard to the emperor, in Tytler, ii. 415.

cittie, of the most honest that hath used to provide and sell wine, to make provisione thereof, and retayle the same at prises reasonable, aswell to the straungers as to all others.

At Farnham, the last day of June.—A letter to Lawrence Bradshawe, surveyor of the workes, signefyinge that the quenes highnes mindeth to dine abroade[a] the day of her maryage; willinge him therefore to take order that the tables be sett and raised accordingly, and that the wall at the backe side of the table where her highnes shall sitte be brokene, and a place devised for her highnes to withdrawe herselfe.

At Winchester, 27th July.—This daye it was ordered by the boarde that a note of all such matteres of state as should passe from hence should be pute into Latten and Spanyche from henceforth, and the same to be delyvered to such as it should please the kinges highnes to appointe to receave it.

It was also ordered that all matteres of estate passynge in the kinge and quenes names should be signed with both their handes.

It was further ordered, that a stampe be made in both theire names for the stampinge of such matters as should be requisite.[b]

At Winchester, the 29th of July.—This daye two treaties of the maryage betweene the kinge and queenes highnes, sealed with the seale of Spaine, exhibited by the lord privie seale and the lord Fitzwalter, late ambassadores into Spaine, was delivered to the lord treasurore, to be by him kepte in the treasurie.

At Richemond, 13th of August.—A letter to the deputie and counsell of Callaice, willinge him to use honorablye the duke of Medina Sely, the marquese of Pescara, the marquese las Navas, the earle of Egmonde, and suche other noblemen as presently repaire from hence that waye to the emperour, and to depeache them with haste and favour from thence.

At Richemond, 15th of August.—A letter to the lord stuarde, that whereas the queenes highnes is advertized that certayne disorderes hath risene in lodgeinge of sundrye noblemen and gentlemen of the kinges trayne, and that they have ben all entered at the harbengeres hands, that

[a] This merely means, in modern phrase, "in public."

[b] A stamp, instead of the royal sign-manual, had been used during the infirmities of Henry VIII. in his latter days; and was again resorted to in the last illness of George IV. See the Gentleman's Magazine June 1830, pp. 548, 549.

his lordshippe shoulde call the harbengeres before him, and examine the matter; and yf it shall fall out that Englishemen have ben faultye herin, to cause them to be punyshed, or yf the Spanyards shalbe found faultye, then to signefie the same to the kinges magestie, to the end ordere maye be given for their punishmente as shall appertayne.

APPENDIX X.

JOHN ELDER'S LETTER DESCRIBING THE ARRIVAL AND MARRIAGE OF KING PHILIP, HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO LONDON, THE LEGATION OF CARDINAL POLE, &c.

The contents of this curious little book were partially extracted by Foxe and Holinshed, but it has never been reprinted entire. It comprises, among other matters, a full description of the pageantry in London at king Philip's entry, of which there is no other copy.

Mr. Tytler, vol. ii. p. 258, says that John Elder was also the author of a wild proposal for uniting Scotland with England, addressed to Henry VIII. in 1542, preserved in the Royal MS. 18 A. XXXVIII, and which is the first article printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany, 1824. In the title to that essay he is styled "John Elder clerk, a Reddshank."

The original of the present tract is very rare; a copy was sold for eight guineas at the sale of Mr. Bindley's library in 1820. The copy in the British Museum, from which the present reprint is derived, was formerly Mr. Gough's, and was purchased by Miss S. S. Banks, as recorded in this memorandum: "1811, March 19. To Mr. Cuthell for this book, £3 3*s.* 0*d.*" It is not quite perfect, but supplied by manuscript leaves.

The copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the arivall and landynge, and moste noble marryage of the moste illustre prynce Philippe, prynce of Spaine, to the moste excellente princes Marye quene of England, solemnisated in the citie of Winchester; and howe he was receyved and installed at Windsore, and of his triumphyng entries in the noble citie of London.

Whereunto is added a brefe overture or openyng of the legacion of the moste reverende father in God lorde cardinall Poole, from the Sea Apostolyke of Rome, with the substaunce of the oracyon to the kyng

and quenes magesties, for the reconcilement of the realme of Englande to the unitie of the Catholyke churche.

With the verye copye also of the supplycacion exhibited to their highnesses by the three estates assembled in the parlamente. Wherin they, representing the whole body of the realme and dominions of the same, have submitted themselves to the Pope's holynesse.

To the ryghte reverende and his very especial good lord, lord Robert Stuarde,[a] bishoppe of Cathenes, and provest of Dūbritane colledge in Scotlande, John Elder, his humble oratour, wisheth health, and prosperous felicitie.

Although I have ben minded divers times (my very good lord) for to have written to your lordeship such newes as have occurred here, in time of peace, or els where; yet, nevertheles, by reason of unnaturall warres betwixt both these realmes of Englande and Scotlande, at whiche tyme I woulde not presume to wryte to foren places, and partly because I could mete with none which had accesse to the place where you remained, I have therfore been let from so doing hitherto from tyme to tyme. And whereas I have good occasion ministered now to write, by reason of suche most noble newes as are in England at this present, I wil so briefly as I may advertis you of the same.

Therfore your lordeship shall understande, that Philip, by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Irelande, and sonne to the most fortunate and most victorious monarche Charles the fifth[b] of that name, nowe emperour of Rome, arrived to the coast of Englande, with a navie of vii. score saile, and landed at Southampton in Hamshire, within ten mile of the citie of Winchester, on friday the xx. day of July last, at iii. of the clocke at afternone.[c] At which towne, the quenes

[a] Robert Stuart, brother to Matthew earl of Lennox, and now, like the earl, an exile from Scotland, but where resident does not appear. See Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, by Wood, ii. 98.

[b] *Misprinted* first *in the original.*

[c] Some particulars of Philip's arrival not elsewhere recorded are given in the report made by the French ambassador to his master (Ambassades de Noailles, iii. 284.) It states that, "when the marquis de las Naves found that the prince was not far from land, he placed himself in a boat with the earl of Surrey [grandson of the Duke of Norfolk], the lord Maltravers eldest son of the earl of Arundel, lord Strange eldest son of the earl of Derby, lord Talbot eldest son of the earl of Shrewsbury, [lord Herbert of Cardiff] eldest

majestie being seven mile from thens, the lordes of the counsel and diverse other noble men most lovyngly welcomed him; where in the meane season

son of the earl of Pembroke, and a sixth young nobleman, and proceeded to the ship in which the prince was; to whom he presented the said English lords to be gentlemen of his chamber, to which he assented very graciously.

"The earls of Arundel, Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, and other lords of the council of England, went into a barge richly adorned and gilt, and expressly prepared in order to land the prince; and repaired to his ship, in which the earl of Arundel presented him with the order of the garter, which was immediately put on him by the herald of the order. Then were read the laws, customs, and ordinances of the kingdom, which the said prince swore to maintain and cause to be observed. [These were, more probably, the laws of the order of the garter. Some accounts, as in the text, state that the garter was presented to Philip on his coming on shore; but Ashmole, p. 308, describes his investiture as having taken place before he landed.]

"Then he entered into the said barge to come to land with the said lords of the council, taking with him of his own lords only the dukes of Alva and Medina Celi, the admiral of Castille, and don Rui Gomez, who had been his governor, and was still the person by whose judgment he was chiefly guided.

"At the landing from the barge, sir Anthony Browne was waiting at the waterside holding by the bridle a hackney richly housed and harnessed, who, immediately the prince had placed his foot on shore, knelt and made a speech in Latin, giving him to understand that he had received the honour of being retained in the prince's service, before his arrival, in the office of master of the horses; and that, although he had already taken the oath of allegiance to his ambassador, yet that he again begged his majesty right humbly to be pleased to receive him as one of his most faithful, humble, and loyal subjects and servants. To which the prince listened favourably, and raised him very graciously. Then, the said Browne having kissed the stirrop of the hackney, the prince mounted thereon.

"From this spot he went straightways to the church of [the Holy Rood in] Southampton, the English and Spanish lords accompanying him on foot, bareheaded; and, after he had returned thanks to God, he was brought to his lodging; where, after the lords of the council of England were assembled, he delivered to them a long discourse of the occasion of his coming into this kingdom, and how he had not left his own countries to increase or augment his estate or the greatness of his power or riches, for God, by his grace, had given him such share of them that he had as good reason to be content as any prince living; but, His divine goodness having summoned him to be the husband of the queen their mistress, he would not refuse His divine will, and for this purpose he had crossed the sea to live with the said lady and them, assuring them that, whilst they continued in their good mind to be faithful, obedient, and loyal to him as they promised him, he would be to them a right good and loving prince.

"This evening, after supper, the prince came into his presence-chamber, where were a great number of English gentleman, with whom he conversed privately, and among

my lord the erll of Arundel, lord steward of Englande, put a very riche garter about his left legge. And there, to recreat him selfe after the sea, with suche noble men as came with him, he continued friday, satterday, and sundaye.

Than the next munday, which was the xxiv. of Juli, his highnes came to the citie of Winchester[a] at vi. of the clocke at nighte, the noble men of Englande and his nobles riding, one with another, before him, in good order, through the citie, every one placed according to his vocacion and office, he riding on a faire white horse, in a riche coate embroidered with gold, his doublet, hosen, and hat suite-like, with a white fether in his hat very faire. And after he lighted he came the hie waye towardes the weast dore of the cathedrall churche, where he was most reverently received wyth procession[b] by my lorde the bishop of Winchester, now lord chaunceller of England, and v. other bishops, mitred, coped, and staved, where also, after he had kneled, kissed the crucifix, and done his praier, he ascended from thens v. steps upon a skafholde which was made for the solemnizacion of his marriage: and untill he came to the quere doore, the procession song *Laus, honor et virtus.* And after he had entred the quere, and perceaved the moste holy sacrament, he put of his cap, and went bare-headed with

others with the lord admiral, to whom he showed great favour, and told him that he was come to marry in this country without having brought wherewith to dress or attire himself so richly as the greatness of the queen deserved; but that he hoped that the foot-cloth of the hackney which that lady had sent him might serve him for a costly vestment; meaning thereby to enhance the richness of that foot-cloth. [The queen appears afterwards to have given him his bridal dress. See a note to the marriage ceremony hereafter, Appendix XI.]

"Soon after the collation was brought in, with a great number of silver pots and ewers, full of wine, beer, and ale, according to the custom of the country. Then he addressed the Spanish lords who were about him, and told them they must at once forget all the customs of Spain, and live in all respects after the English fashion, in which he was determined to begin and show them the way; so he ordered some beer to be brought him, and drank of it." See in the Italian Relation of England (printed for the Camden Society,) at pp. 10, 21, the remarks which the peculiarity of the English in drinking beer and ale were wont to elicit from foreigners.

[a] Of Philip's journey to Winchester some details will be found in Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary, derived from the Italian narrative of Baoardo, to which the present Editor has not access.

[b] *Misprinted* profession *in the original.*

great humilitie, until he entred his seate or travers as they cal it, where after he had kneled, my lorde chauncellor began *Te Deum Laudamus*, and the quere, together with the organs, song and plaied the rest. Whiche beeng doen, he was brought with torch-light to the deanes house, the lordes going before him, and the quenes garde in their riche coates standing al the way: whiche house was very gorgeously prepared for him, adjoining to my lorde the bishop of Winchester's palace, where the quenes highnes then lay, not passing a paire of but-lengthes betwene. Thys nighte, after he had sopped, at x. of the clocke (as I am crediblye informed), he was brought by the counsell a privie waye to the quene,[a] where her grace verye lovyngly, yea, and most joyfullye receyved him. And after they had talked together half an hour they kissed, and departed. I am crediblie informed also that at his departing he desired the quenes highnes to teache hym what he should say to the lordes in English,[b] at his departing: and she told him he should say, "Good night, my lordes all." And as he came by the lordes, he said as the quene had taught him.

So the nexte tuesdaye, at three of the clocke, he went to the quene from the deanes house afote, where every body might see him; the lord stewarde,[c] the erle of Darbey, the erle of Pembroke, with divers other lordes and noblemenne, as well Englishe as others, went before him, he going alone, in a cloke of blacke cloth embrodred with silver, and a paire of white hose.[d] And after that he had entred the courte, where all kinde of instrumentes played very melodiously, and came within the hal, where the quenes majesty was standing on a skafhold, his highnes descended, and amiably receaving him, did kisse him in presence of all the people. And then taking him by the right hande, they went together in the chaumber of presence, where after they had, in sighte of all the lordes and ladies, a quarter of an houre pleasantly talked and communed together, under the cloth of

[a] "About nine in the evening the earl of Arundel, with the great chamberlain, paid him a visit, and after some conversation, being joined by the count d'Egmont, conducted the prince to the queen secretly. This was the first time that they had seen each other." Narrative in the archives of Louvaine, printed in Tytler, ii. 430.

[b] Their conversation had been "in the Spanishe tongue," as it is expressly stated in Fabyan's chronicle.

[c] The earl of Arundel.

[d] —— "and the garter of the order of Englande aboute his legge." Fabyan.

estate, and each of them merily smylyng on other, to the greate comforte and rejoising of the beholders, he toke his leve of her grace, and departed towardes the cathedrall churche to evensong, all the lordes (as I have said) going before him: where also from the courte hal dore to the courte gate, all the pensioners and the garde (as he and the lordes went) stode all along on both sides the waye. Evensong being done, he was very princely brought from the churche with torche-lyghte unto the deanes house agayne.

Then wedinsdaye, being Sanct James daie, the xxv. of July, his highnes (at x. of the clocke) and his nobles before him, went to the cathedral churche, and remayned there (the dores beyng very straightlie kepte) untill the quenes highnes came: whose magestie, with al her counsel and nobilitie before her, came thyther at half houre to aleven. And entring at the west dore of the said cathedrall churche (where her grace was receaved the satterday before, in like manner as his highnes was the munday following,) her majestie ascended the foresaid steps, and came towardes the quere dore: where a little without the same dore was made a round mount of bordes, ascendyng also five steps above the skafholde. On which mount, immediatelye after her magestie and the king were shreven, they were maried by my lord the bishop of Winchester lord chancellour of Inglande, her magestye standing on the right side of the said mount, and the king on the left side. And this the mariage being ended [a] and solemnizated, which with the biddinges and the banes ther of was declared and done by the said lord chauncelor, both in Latin and English, his lordship declared also there: How that the emperours magestie resigned, under his emperial seale, the kingdomes of Naples and Hierusalem to his sonne Philip prince of Spain, wherby it might well appeare to all men that the quenes highnes was then maried, not only to a prince, but also unto a king. The quenes mariage ring was a plain hoope of gold without any stone in it: for that was as it is said her pleasure, because maydens were so maried in olde tymes. Thys (as I have saide) being ended and done, the erle of Darbey beefore the quenes magestie, and the erle of Pembroke before the kinges highnes, did bere ech of them a swerd of honour. And so both their majesties entered the quere hande in hand under a canapye borne by iiij. knightes towardes the hie altar, where after they had kneled a while with ech of them a taper, they arose, and the quene went to a seate or travers of the right hande of the

[a] The ceremonial of the marriage, as recorded by the English heralds, forms the next article of this Appendix.

altar, and the kinge to another seate of the left hand, where they continued thus several in their meditacions and praiers untill the gospell was saied, and then they came out, and kneled all the hie masse tyme openly before the hie aultar, the care clothe beeyng holden, as the maner is.[a] Where duryng hie masse tyme the quenes chapell matched with the quire, and the organs, used suche swete proporcyon of musicke and harmonye, as the like (I suppose) was never beefore invented or harde. The hie masse beeing done, whiche was celebrated and sayd by my lorde the bishop of Winchester, having to his coadjutors the five bishops aforesaid, that is to say, the bishops of Duresm, Ely, London, Lincolne, and Chichestre, (wherin both the princes offering rich jewels, and delivering their tapers, yea and the kinges highnes at the *Agnus Dei* kissyng the celebrator, according to the ceremonies of mariages used in holy catholicke churches,) the king of heroldes openly, in presence of both their magesties and the whole audience, solempnly proclaymed this their new stile and title in Latin, Frenche, and in Englishe.

The stile in Latin.

"Philippus et Maria, Dei gratia, Rex et Regina Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Hierusalem et Hibernie, fidei defensores, Principes Hispaniarum et Secilie, Archiduces Austrie, Duces Mediolani, Burgundie et Brabantie, Comites Haspurgi, Flandrie et Tyrolis."

And wheras this letter maye come perhaps from your lordships handes, in the handes of those which understand not the Latin tongue, I wil therfore by your lordships leve, to satisfie and content their mindes, being unlearned, not only declare the same stile and title in English, but also all suche other thinges as shal folowe in Latin.

The stile in Englishe.

"Philip and Marie, by the grace of God king and quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Irelande, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Secyll, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Millan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tirol."

This stile and title being thus proclaimed, the king and the quene departed, hand in hande, under the forsaid canapie, to my lord chauncellor's place, where the quenes grace was lodged; whose two most princely and most rich

[a] *i. e.* over the heads: see Nares's Glossary and Brand's Antiquities. Its derivation is probably from *quarré*, square.

abiliments was of betin gold upon golde, and so riche set with precious stones, as no man coulde esteme the value therof. At which place, during diner time, as none could be in the world more sumptuous, when their magestyes dined openly in the hal both together at one table, under the cloth of estate:[a] there was suche soundes and noise of al maner of instruments, as hath been seldome hearde; when also, at the thirde course, I perceived all the heraldes of armes entre the hall two and two, in their heraldicall garmentes, and crying three times with an hye voyce "Largesse!" the king of them, commonlye called Garter, proclamed there againe the kynges highnes and quenes new stile and title, in maner, fourme, and effect as he did in the cathedrall churche when hye masse was done. And so, crying three tymes "Larges!" agayne, they departed.

And thus, shortly to conclude, there was for certain daies after this moste noble mariage suche triumphing, bankating, singing, masking, and daunsing, as was never in Englande heretofore, by the reporte of all men. Wherfore, to see the kinges magestie and the quene sitting under the cloth of estate, in the hall where they dyned, and also in the chamber of presence at dansing tyme, where both their magesties dansed, and also to behold the dukes and noblemen of Spain daunse with the faire ladyes and the moste beutifull nimphes of England, it should seme to him that never see suche, to be an other worlde.

Nowe, to trouble youre lordship any further with the hole and perfite declaration of the riche and sundrie apparelles whiche the nobilitie of Englande and Spain used and ware at and after the mariage of these two most excellent princes, it were but a phantasie and losse of paper and ynke; for no mortall princes (emperoures and kinges only except) were able surely to excell them. And such brave liveries as their servauntes had, I never sawe the lyke in all the countreys that ever I travayled. And finally, with what ryche hanginges the cathedral church of Winchester and the quyer was hanged, and the two seates where bothe the princes sat, it was a wonder to se. And againe, to vew and mark what eligaunt verses in Latin of all kynde of sortes were affixed and set up on the cathedrall churche dores, and the portes of my lorde chaunceller's place where the king and the quene laye, by the skollers of Winchester Colledge, in prayse and commendacion

[a] See a further account of the marriage banquet hereafter.

of this most noble and rare mariage of Philip of Spayne and Mari of England, it shoulde quicken the spirits of al dull doltes to embrace good letters, and of the best learned to favour the good will of al painefull studentes. I purpose for to sende the copy of some of theym to your lordship (God willing) hereafter.[a] And in the meane season I will not omit two verses whiche were wrytten in a whyte fielde, whych heroldes call silver, with faire Romayne letters of blacke, which they call sable, above the inner port of the place wher the two princes lay, a month before they cam thither; whiche verses (as I am advertised) were made by my lorde the bishop of Winchester, nowe lorde chaunceller of Englande, whose exacte learnyng is well knowen every where, yea, and he to bee of moste exacte judgement in all kinde of good letters.

These be the two verses:—

O domus es felix nimium,[b] nimiumque beata,
Hospitio tales nunc habitura tuo.

This is to saye,—

Thou art happy house, righte blist and blist again,
That shortly shalt suche noble guestes[c] retayn.

And after that their majesties had thus remayned in the citie of Winchestre ten daies (unto the whiche citie and to Southhampton, in token and perpetuall memorye of this their moste noble mariage, solemnizated in the one, and the kinges first landing in the other, they did geve great privilegis and landes for ever,) they removed from thens on tuesdaye the last of Juli, and riding through the citie in a very princely order, they wente to Basing, xv. mile from Winchestre, where at my lord treasurer of Englandes house they lay that night and the next day following, where was suche noble chere provided for them, and both their nobilities, as I have not sene the like for the tyme in my dayes.

The next thursday, being the seconde of August, they departed from thens, and rode to Reding, wher after they had lyne but that nyghte, they came to Windesore the next friday, at vi. of the clocke at nyghte.

And cumming in at the west end of the town, they came, with two

[a] See this supplied in No. XII. of this Appendix.

[b] *Misprinted* minium *in the original, in both places.*

[c] *Misprinted* geastes.

swerdes borne before them, streight way towardes the churche weste dore, where with procession they were receaved by my lord chaunceller, where also the lord stewarde of Englande revested the king with the robe of the order of the garter, and the quenes magestie put the collar of the same order aboute his necke, whiche being done, they bothe proceded under a canapy towardes the quere, the lordes of the order going beefore them in their robes and collars also. And after that the kyng was there installed, and Te Deum song and ended, they came out at the same dore of the quere where they entred, and went to a place of the north side of the same, where the kinges highnes and the lordes put of their robes; which being done, the kinges magestie and the quene departed on horse-backe to their lodging in Windsor Castle.

And to make an ende here of their progres, your lordship shall understande, that after they had remayned at Windsor certaine daies after the kinges installacion, they came to Richemont. When being advertysed that all suche triumphes and pageantes as wer devised in London agaynst their cumming thyther, were finished and ended, they came from thens by water, on friday the xvii. of August, and landed at S. Marie Overes staires on Southwarke side; where every corner being so straight kept as no man could passe, come, or go, but those which were appointed to attende their landing, they passed through my lord chauncellers house at[a] Suffolke place, which was prepared for their lying that night. This Suffolke place, and your lordship be remembred, is of the left hande as we enter into Southwarke cumming from Hampton Courte; whiche place was made by the olde duke of Suffolke, immediatly after that he maried the godly and vertuous princes Marye quene dowager of Fraunce and the seconde doughter of king Henry the vii.

Nowe to begyn and declare their cumming to London, and to make an ende, Your reverend lordship shall understande that bothe their moste excellent majesties made thier most noble and triumphing entries into the noble citie of London furth of Southwarke place, the next satterdaye, which was the xviii. of August, at ii. of the clocke at after none. Where after all the lordes of their moste honorable privie counsel, and the ambassadours of all nacyons, with the nobilitie of Englande and Spayne, and divers other noble and jentle men as wel English as straunge, wer al on

[a] *For* at *read* to. They passed through Winchester house to Suffolk place.

horsebacke, two and two, in a ranke, the lord maior of London, as the two princes came out at the gate, kneled and delivered a mace, whiche signified his power and authoritie within the citie of London, to the quenes grace. Whose magestie delivering the said mace to the lord maior again, the kinges highnes and she ascended their horses, and so marchyng towardes London bridge, the quene of the righte hande, and the king of the left, with two swerdes of honour before theym, and before the swerdes the lord maior of London bearing the mace, the Toure of London begynneth to shoote.

And when they came to the drawe-bridge, there they made the fyrst staye, where there was in the hight thereof a fayre table, holden up with two greate giauntes, the one named Corineus Britannus, and the other Gog-magog Albionus. In which table, in a field silver, with faire Romaine letters of sable, these xii. verses following were wrytten :

Unica Cæsareæ stirpis spes inclite princeps,
Cui Deus imperium totius destinat orbis,
Gratus et optatus nostras accedis ad oras.
Ecce sagittipotens tibi tota Britania dextram
Porrigit, et gremium tibi nobilis Anglia pandit,
Te tamen in primis urbs Londoniensis honorat,
Incolumemque suum gaudet venisse Philippum,
Ipsa suis sentit charum te civibus esse,
Et fore fœlicem tali se principe credit.
Teque putant omnes missum divinitus urbi,
Cujus mens, studium, vox, virtus, atque voluntas
Gaudet, et in clari consentit amore Philippi.

That is to say,

O noble Prince, sole hope of Cæsar's side,
By God apointed all the world to gyde,
Right hartely welcome art thou to our land,
The archer Britayne yeldeth the hir hand,
And noble England openeth her bosome
Of hartie affection for to bid the welcome.
But chiefly London doth her love vouchsafe,
Rejoysing that her Philip is come safe.
She seith her citisens love thee on eche side,
And trustes they shal be happy of such a gide :
And al do thinke thou art sent to their citie
By th' only meane of God's paternall pitie,
So that their minde, voice, study, power, and will,
Is onlie set to love the, Philippe, still.

Here also the Toure of London (the signe geven that the kinge and quene were in syghte thereof) shotte suche peales of ordinaunce in and about every quarter thereof, and specially out of the toppe of the whyte toure and of the wharffe, as never was heard the lyke in Englande heretofore.

Which being done, they proceded forwarde until they came to Gracious strete, where in their waye the conduit therof was finely trimmed, whereon was painted verye ingeniouslye the nine Worthies, with many notable proverbes and adages, written with fayre Roman letters on every side thereof.

And at the signe of the Splaied Eagle they made a seconde staie, where the first pagent was devysed and made by the marchaunt straungers of the Stilliarde. Where emongest divers notable stories, there was in the top therof a picture of the king sitting on horssebacke, all armed verye gorgeously, and richly set out to the quicke. Under which picture were written in field silver with fayre Romaine letters of sable, these wordes folowinge after this maner:

Divo Phi. Aug. Max.
Hispaniarum principi exoptatissimo.

That is to saye,

"In honour of worthy Philip the fortunate and most mighty
Prince of Spaine, most earnestly wyshed for."

And under that were wrytten in a field blue, whiche heroldes call azure, with faire Romaine letters of silver, these two verses folowinge:

Constantem fortemque animum, ter magne Philippe,
Nec spes a recto, nec metus acer agit.

That is to saye,

Most mighty Philip, neither hope nor fear may frighte
Thy stronge and valiaunt hart away from ryghte.

Whiche picture, and al other notable stories and wrytinges in the saide pagent, pleasing their magesties very wel, they marched forward untill they came to Cornewall,[a] where the conduite also there being very excellentlye painted, at the west end of the strete was the seconde pagent, which was ryght excellently handled and set out, where their magesties made the thirde staye. In whiche pagente were foure lively persons, which represented the

[a] See before, in p. 80.

foure moste noble Philips, of whose most noble actes and doinges we read in auncient stories. That is to saye, Philip kyng of Macedonia, Philip the Romayn Emperour, Philip duke of Burgundy surnamed Bonus, and Philip duke of Burgundy surnamed Audax; betwixt which foure princes, two beying of the right side of the pagent, and two of the leaft, there was a fayre table, wherin were written in a fielde azure, with Romaine letters of silver, these viii. verses folowyng:

Quatuor a priscis accepimus esse Philippos,
Quorum per totum celebratur gloria mundum.
Nobilitas primum summa decoravit honore,
Prosperitate facit clarum fortuna secundum,
Tertius æterna bonitatis laude refulget,
Quartus bellator fortis memoratur et audax;
Sed tua nobilitas, fortuna, audatia, virtus,
Omnibus his præstat, vincisque Philippe Philippos.

That is to saye,

We read in time past Philips have bene foure,
Whose glory throwghout al the worlde is blowen;
The first through noble bloud past all before,
The secondes matche in good succes unknowen;
The third for goodnes gat eternall fame,
The forthe for boldnes used agaynst hys fone;
In birth, in fortune, boldnes, vertuous name,
Thou Philip passest these Phillips fower, alone.

This pageante, with the stories therein contained, liking the kinges highnes and the quene wonderous wel, they passed towardes Chepeside, and at the easte ende therof, the conduite there also being finely paynted and trimmed, they made the fourth staye, where the thirde pageante was made. In the height wherof was one playing on a harpe, who signified the most excellent musician Orpheus, of whom and of Amphion we reade in the fables of old poetes; where also were nyne faire ladyes playing and singing on divers swete instrumentes, signifying the nine Muses. And not farre from them were men and children decked up like wilde beastes, as lions, wolfes, foxes, and beares. So that the moste swete strokes, noyse, and soundes of Orpheus, with the nyne Muses playing and singinge, in the sayd pageant, and also the counterfeated beastes daunsing and leaping with Orpheus

harpe and the Muses melodye, exhilarated and rejoysed their majesties very much. Under Orpheus, in a field silver, with faire Romaine letters of sable, were written in a very faire table these viii. verses followinge:

Eloquii claro ditatus munere princeps
Voce sua cives flectet, quocunque lubebit.
Hoc veteres olim docuere per Orphea vates,
Qui movisse feras cantus dulcedine fertur,
Sic tua sola tuos dicendi copia cives
Excitat, et mœstæ prebet solatia menti.
Ergo tibi merito magnas agit Anglia grates,
Anglia que solo gaudet dicente Philippo.

That is to saye,

The prince that hath the gift of eloquence
May bend his subjectes to his most behove,
Which in old time was shewed by covert sence
In Orpheus whose song did wilde beastes move.
In like case now thy grace of spech so franke
Doth comforte us, whose mindes afore were bleke,
And therefore England geveth the harty thanke,
Whose chiefest joye is to hear thee, Philip, speke.

Their majesties being satisfyed with the sighte of that pageant, they marched from thence, and passinge through Chepeside, where they perceiving the crosse therof, which was with fine gold richely gilded, they staied a litle lookinge thereon, whiche was (no doute it is) unto them a right excellent view, where also the kinges highnes, perceaving the crucifix in the top therof, very humblie put of his cap. Thys sene, they marched forwarde, and at the west end of Chepe they made the fyft staye, where was the fourth and most excellent pageant of al, wherein was contained, declared, and shewed their most noble genealogy from kinge Edward the third, which genealogie was most excellently and moste ingeniously set out, with a great arboure or tree; under the roote wherof was an olde man liinge on his left side, with a long white beard and close crowne on his head, and a sceptour in his ryght hand, and a ball imperial in his lefte; which olde man signified kinge Edward the third, of whom both their majesties are lineally descended; which greene arbour or tree grewe up of both the sides, with braunches, whereon did sit young faire children, which represented the persons of such kinges, quenes, princes, dukes, earles, lordes,

and ladies, as descended from the said king Edward the iii. unto their daies, whose names were written above their heades in fieldes azure, in faire tables, with Roman letters of silver. Where also in the top of the said arbour or tre, was a quene of the right hande, and a king of the left, which presented their magesties; above whose heades was written their new stile and title, with fayre Roman letters of sable in a fielde golde; and above that, in the height of al, wer both their armes joined in one, under one crown emperial. And finally, under the old man whiche lay under the rote of the arbour, and signified (as I have said) king Edward the third, were written these v. verses folowinge, in a field silver, with letters of gold:

Si te bellipotens veterum juvat Anglia regum
Gloria, quæ summis quondam te laudibus auxit,
Illorum sobolem Mariam, magnumque Philippum
Diligere, et toto complecti pectore debes.
Quos Deus ex uno communi fonte profectos
Connubio veterem voluit conjungere stirpem.

That is to saye,

Englande, if thou delite in auncient men
Whose glorious actes thy fame abrod dyd blase,
Both Mary and Philip their offspring ought thou then
With al thy hert to love and to embrace,
Which both descended of one auncient lyne
It hath pleased God by mariage to combyne.

Which pageant beynge throughlye vewed and much commended of their majesties, they wente hence towardes Paules church. And in their way a skoller of Paules skoole, decked up in cloth of gold, delyvered unto the kinges highnes a fayre boke, which he receyved verye jentlie. Where also a fellow came slipping upon a corde, as an arrowe out of a bow, from Paules steple to the grounde, and lighted with his heade forwarde on a greate sort of fether beds: And after he [had] clame up the corde againe, and done certene feates, their majesties lighted, and being in Paules church receaved with procession by the bishop of London, and Te Deum song and ended, they departed, and marched towardes Flete strete, at the condit whereof they made the sixt and last staye, where was the fift and hindermost pagent of all. Wherein was a quene and a king representing their highnes, having of their right side Justicia with a swerd in her hande,

and Equitas with a payre of ballaunce; and of theyr left side Veritas wyth a boke in her hande, whereon was written *Verbum Dei*, and Misericordia with a hearte of golde. Where also from the height of the pageant descended one which signified Sapientia, with a crowne in eche of her handes, whereof the one she put on the head of her that presented the quene, and the other on the head of him that presented the king; under which two wer written, in a field azure, with fayre Roman letters of silver, these .vi. verses folowing:

Qui verax clemensque simul, ac justus et equus,
Virtutisque suam complevit lumine mentem,
Si diadema viro tali Sapientia donet,
Ille gubernabit totum fœliciter orbem.
Et quia te talem cognovimus esse, Philippe,
Nos fortunatos fore te regnante putamus.

That is to saye,

When that a man is jentle, just, and true,
With vertuous giftes fulfilled plenteously,
If Wisdome then him with hir crowne endue,
He governe shal the whole world prosperously.
And sith we know thee, Philip, to be such,
While thou shalt reigne we thinke us happy much.

And after that their magesties had seen the effecte of thys pageant, they proceeded forward towardes Temple bar, where they stayed a litle in viewinge a certaine oracion in Latin, which was in a long table wrytten with Romayne letters, above the porte therof, as they passed, and departed furth of the citie. Which oracion declared that such triumphs and pagiantes as were devised and made in the noble citie of London by the lord maior therof, his brethren and the citisens, for theyr entries, whose most happy cumming they most hertly so long desired and wished for; and agayne the running and rejoysing of the greate number of people as were there calling and crying "God save your graces," was an evident token, testimonie, and witnes of their faithful and unfained hertes to the quenes highnes and the king. For whose moste excellente majesties they prayed unto Almightye God longe to lyve, rule, and reygne over their most noble empyre of Englande.

And now makyng an end here of this theyr most triumphyng entries into the noble citye of London, they departed from Temple barre towardes Yorke

place, otherwyse called the Whyte hal: wher after they had lighted they came hand in hand into the great chamber of presens, where also, after they had talked a little space, they toke theyr leave eache of other.

And so the quenes magestie entring that part of the courte comenly called the kinges side, and the kinges highnes entryng the other parte called the quenes, there they rested and remayned for certayne dayes.

Wher in the meane season two princely presentes came to their magesties. The one from the emperour, which is .xii. pieces of Arras worke, so richlie wroughte with golde, silver, and silke, as none in the worlde maye excell them. In which peces be so excellentlye wroughte and sette out all the emperoures majesties procedinges and victories againste the Turkes, as Apelles were not able (if he were alive) to mende any parcell thereof with his pensell.

And the other present from the quene of Polonia, which is a paire of regalles, so curiouslye made of golde and silver, and so set with precious stones, as lyke or none suche have bene seldome sene.

And after they had thus remained at the Whitehall certaine daies (as I have said), and had bene in Westminster colledge,[a] where their majesties were receyved with procession by the deane thereof, and had heard masse, and perused al the monumentes and tombes of such kinges as be enterred there they departed to Hampton courte, where they continued untill thys parliment.[b]

At which tyme they came from thens to Whitehall agayne. Whyche parlimente did begin the xii. day of November last, on which day both their magesties, and al the lordes spirituall and temporall, as use and custom hath ever been, rode to Westminster abbey, with all princely ensignes of honor, and solempnities appertayning to the roiall estate.

Further, youre lordeshippe shall understande that the xviii. daye of the sayed moneth, the righte reverende father in God, lorde cardinall Poole, accompanyed wyth my lorde Paget, my lord Clynton, and sir Anthony Browne knight, late created lorde Montague, and dyvers other noble menne, came from Gravesende to the White hall in one of the kynges

[a] On the 21st August: see accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster, in the notes to Machyn's Diary, p. 400.

[b] To the 28th September only: vide ibid.

barges. Where the kinges majestie, beinge advertysed that he hadde shot London brydge, his highnes, with the swerde of honoure borne before hym, came down and receaved him verye amiably, as he landed at the common landynge brydge of the courte. And from thence they bothe passed up to the chambre of presence, where the quenes majestie was sittinge under the clothe of estate, whose highnes also receaved him very joyfully.

And after that both theyr majesties and he had communed an houre very lovinglye, my lorde cardenall toke his leave of their highnes. And then my lord chaunceler of his right hande, and the erle of Shrewsbery of his left, they went by water to Lambeth, which is a place perteyninge to the archebishop of Canterbury, where his lordeship lyeth as yet. This cardinall is an Englysheman borne, of whome (I am sure) your lordship hath hearde, and discended of the bloude roiall of Englande. For his mother was doughter to George duke of Clarence, which was brother to Edwarde the fourth of that name, kinge of Englande. Whyche cardinall hathe bene an exile out of England these xxi. yeres. The cause whereof was, that he woulde not assente to kynge Henry the eight in the matter of divorse from his most lawfull wife quene Katherin, mother to the quene that now is. And that he would not admitte the sayd king to beare the title of Supreme Head of the Churche of Englande, whiche by a newe example he hadde lately (as it is now sayd) usurped.

This opinion did not onely purchase exile to thys cardinal himselfe, but also was the death of the vertuouse lady the countes of Salysbery his mother, and lord Montegle [a] hys brother, and the marques of Exester his cousin, wyth manye other noble menne, being suspect as adherents to him in the same opinion.

Surely thys cruelty was great, but that whyche exceded all the rest: thys olde ladye being at least lx. and x. yeares of age, cosin to the king, and beyng (as it is saied) most innocent and giltles, was without judgement or processe of lawe, drawen by the hore heres [b] to the blocke, not knowyng any cause why, to dye.

Many lyke examples of crueltie folowed in Englande by that alteracion, whiche are oute of my purpose; but this I have touched by occasion of this cardinall, who nowe by the quenes goodnes is restored to the honour of his

[a] *Read* Montacute.

[b] hoary hairs.

house. And nowe of late is arrived in Englande as ambassadour and legate from the pope's holynes, with most ample commission to receive the realme of Englande unto the unitie of the churche, wherof your lordship shal perceve more hereafter. He is and semeth to be of nature sad and grave, whose good lyfe maye be an example to the reste of his profession, and his excellent learning is well knowen through all Europe. For I assure your lordship, that at my beinge in Rome xvi. yeares agon, I have hearde out of the mouthes aswel of my countrymen then being in Rome, as of the Romaines themselfes no les, yea, and more then I have saide. For it is commonly sayde of him by lerned men in Rome, and in other places where I have travayled, "Polus cardinalis, natione Anglus, pietatis et literarum testimonio dignus, non qui Polus Anglus, sed qui Polus angelus vocetur."

But nowe passinge over the praysinges of thys noble and vertuous prelate, whome no manne dispraiseth, I will procede where I lefte.

Within fewe daies after hys cumminge to Lambeth, a daye was prefixed by appoyntment of the king and quenes majesties, that the three estates of England being called unto the parliament shoulde be brought unto the presence of the cardinal for the better understandinge of his legation. This assemble was appointed in the greate chambre of the courte at Westminster, where as the king and quenes majesties sitting under the cloth of estate, and al the three estates placed in theyr degrees, the cardinall sytting in a chaire on the right hand, out of the cloth of estate, my lord chauncellor of England began in this maner.

"My lordes of the upper house, and you masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God, my lord cardinal Pole, come from the Apostolike Sea of Rome as ambassadour to the king and quenes magesties upon one of the moste weightiest causes that ever happened in thys realme. And whiche perteineth to the glory of God and your universall benefit. The which ambassage their majesties pleasure is to be signified to you all by hys own mouth, trustyng that you will receyve and accept it in as benevolent and thankefull wyse as theyr highnesses have done, and that you will geve attente and inclynable eare to hym."

When his lordship had thus made an ende, my lord cardinall, taking the occasion offred, without any studye, as it seemed, spake in effect as foloweth:

"My lordes all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament

assembled, which in effecte is nothing els but the state and body of the whole realme, As the cause of my repaire hither hath been both wisely and gravely declared by my lord chaunceller, so before that I entre to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat to say touching myselfe, and to geve most humble and harti thankes to the king and quenes magesties, and after them to you all, whiche of a man exiled and banisht from this common wealth have restored me to a member of the same: and of a man having no place nether here or els where within this realme, have admitted me in place where to speake and to be heard. Thys I protest unto you al, that though I was exiled my natyve country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet that ingratitude could not putt from me the affeccion and desire that I had to profitt and doe you good. Yf the offer of my service might have been receaved, it was never to seke: and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor never shall. But leaving the rehersall thereof, and cumming more nere to the matter of my commission, I signifie unto you all that my principall travayl is, for the restitucion of this noble realme to the auncient nobilitie, and to declare unto you, that the Sea Apostolike, from whens I come, hath a special respect to this realme above al other; and not without cause, seing that God himselfe, as it were by providence, hath geven this realme prerogative of nobilitie above other, which to make more playne unto you, it is to be considered that this iland first of all ilandes received the light of Christes religion. For, as stories testifie, it was *prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi.* For the Brittons being first inhabitauntes of this realme (notwithstandyng the subjeccion of the emperours and heathen princes) dyd receyve Christes fayth from the Apostolike Sea, universally, and not in partes, as other countryes, nor by one and one, as clockes encrease their houres by distinction of tymes, but altogether at ones as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merites or forgeatfulnes of God had deserved expulsion, and that straungers being infidels had possessed this land, yet God of his goodnes not leaving where he ones loved, so illumined the hartes of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsoke the darknes of heathen errours, and enbraced the light of Christes religion, so that within small space idolatry and heathen superstition was utterlye abandoned in this iland. This was a greate prerogative of nobilitie, wherof though the benefite be to be ascribed to God, yet the meane occasion of the same came from the church of Rome, in the faithe

of whiche churche we have ever since continued and consented, with the rest of the worlde, in unitye of religion. And to shew further the fervent devotion of the inhabitauntes of this iland towardes the churche of Rome, we rede that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travell and expenses, went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, whiche thought it not inough to shew themselfes obedient to the said see, unles that in their owne personnes they had gon to that same place from whence they had receved so great a grace and benefite. In the time of Carolus Magnus, who first founded the university of Parys, he sent into England for Alcuinus, a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university. Whereby it semeth that the greatest part of the world fet the light of religion from England. Adrian the fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity, which Adrian afterwardes, upon great affection and love that he bare to thys realme, being his native country, gave to Henry the ii. king of England the right and seniory of the dominion of Ireland, whiche pertained to the see of Rome.

"I wil not reherse the manifold benefites that this realme hath receaved from the Apostolike Sea, nor how ready the same hath been to relive us in all our necessities. Nor I wil not rehearse the manifolde miseries and calamities that this realme hath suffred by swarving from that unitie. And even as in thys realme, so in all other countries which, refusing the unitie of the catholike fayth, have followed fantastical doctryne, the like plages have happened. Let Asia, and the empire of Grece, be a spectacle unto the world, who, by swarving from the unitie of the churche of Rome, are brought into captivitie and subjeccion of the Turke. All storyes be full of like examples. And to cum unto latter tyme, loke upon our nie neighbours of Germany, who, by swarving from this unitie, are miserablye afflicted with diversitie of sectes, and devided in factions. What shal I rehearse unto you, the tumultes and effusion of blood that hath happened there in late dayes; or trouble you with the rehersal of those plages that have happened sins this innovacion of religion, whereof you have felt the bitternes, and I have hearde the reporte; of al which matters I can say no more but suche was the misery of the tyme. And see how farre forth this furie went. For those that live under the Turke may frely live after their consciences, and so was it not lawfull here. Yf men examined wel upon what grounndes these innovations begun, they shall well finde that the rote of thys, as of

many other mischiefes, was avarice, and that the lust and carnal affeccion of one man confounded all lawes, both devine and humane; and notwithstandyng all these devises and pollicies practised within thys realme against the church of Rome, they neded not to have loste you, but that they sought rather as frendes to reconcile you, then as enemies to enfeaste you; for they wanted no great offers of the most mightie potentates in all Europe to have ayded the church in that quarell. Then marke the sequel; ther semed by these chaunges to rise a gret face of riches and gayne, which in profe cam to gret misery and lacke. Se howe God then can confounde the wisdome of the wise, and turne unjust pollicy to mere folye, and that thing that semed to be done for reliefe, was cause of playne ruyne and decay. Yet see that goodnes of God, which at no tyme fayled us, but most benignlye offered hys grace, when it was of our partes leaste soughte, and worste deserved.

"And when all lyghte of true religion seamed utterly extincte, as the churches defaced and aulters overthrowen, the ministers corrupted; even lyke as in a lampe the lyghte being covered, yet it is not quenched, even so in a few remained the confession of Christes fayth; namely, in the brest of the quenes excellency, of whome to speake wythout adulacyon, the saing of the prophet may be verified, *Ecce quasi derelicta.*

"And see howe miraculouslye God of hys goodnes preserved her hyghnes contrarye to the expectacyon of manne. That when numbers conspyred agaynste her, and policies were devised to disherit her, and armed power prepared to destroye her, yet she being a virgin, helples, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victorye over tyrauntes, which is not to be ascribed to any pollici of man, but to the almighty greate goodnes and providence of God, to whome the honour is to be geven. And therefore it may be sayd *Da gloriam Deo.* For in mannes judgemente, on her grace's parte was nothinge in apparance but dispayre. And yet for all these practises and devises of ill men, here you se hir grace established in hir estate, being your lawful quene and governes, borne amonge you, whome God hathe appointed to reigne over you, for the restitucion of true religion, and extirpacion of all erroures and sectes. And to confirme her grace the more stronglye in thys enterprise, lo howe the providence of God hath joyned her in mariage with a prince of like religion, who being a kinge of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towardes you neyther armour

nor force, but seketh you by the waye of love and amitie, in which respecte greate cause you have to gyve thankes to Almighty God that hathe sent you suche catholyke governours. It shal be therefore your parte againe to love, obey, and serve them. And as it was a singuler favoure of God to conjoyne theym in maryage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shal sende them yssue for the comforte and suerty of thys common wealthe. Of all prynces in Europe, the emperoure hath travayled most in the cause of religion, as it appereth by hys actes in Germany; yet happly by some secret judgement of God he hath not atchieved the ende; with whom in my journey hetherwardes I had conference touchinge my legation, whereof when he had understandinge, he shewed great apperaunce of most ernest joye and gladnes, saying that it rejoyced him no les of the reconcilement of this realme unto christian unitie, then that his sonne was placed by mariage in the kingdome. And most glad of all that the occasion thereof shuld come by me, beinge an Englishemanne borne, whiche is, as it were, to call home oure selves. I can wel compare hym to David, whiche, thoughe he were a manne elected of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with bloode and war, coulde not builde the temple of Jerusalem, but lefte the finishynge thereof to Salomon, whiche was *Rex pacificus*. So may it be thoughte, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appoynted to this emperour, but rather to his sonne, who shal perfourme the buildyng that his father hath begun; which church cannot be perfitly builded without universallye, in all realmes, we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge hym to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above. For al power is of God, accordyng to the saying, *Non est potestas nisi a Deo*. And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet for the conservacion of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two partes here in earthe, whiche is the power imperial and ecclesiasticall; and these two powers, as they be severall and distinct, so have they two severall effectes and operacions. For seculer princes, to whom the temporall swerde is committed, be ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressours and ill livers, and to preserve the wel doers and innocentes from injury and violence, which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and quenes magesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediatlye from God, wythout any superioure in that behalfe. The other power is of mi-

nistracyon, whyche is the power of the keies, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is by the authoritie of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all olde holy fathers, from Christ, hitherto attributed and geven to the Apostolike Sea of Rome, by speciall prerogative. From which sea I am here deputed legate and ambassadour, having full power and ample commission from thence, and have the keyes committed to my handes. I confess to you that I have the keyes not as mine owne keyes, but as the keyes of him that sent me, and yet cannot open, not for want of power in me to gyve, but for certayne impedimentes in you to receave, whiche must be taken awaye before my commission can take effect. This I protest unto you, my commyssion is not of prejudice to anye persone. I cum not to destroy but to build. I cum to reconcyle, not to condemne. I cum not to compel, but to call againe. I am not cum to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemencye to suche as will receave it; for touchinge all matters that be past, they shal bee as thinges cast into the sea of forgetfulnes. But the meane wherby you shal receave this benefit, is to revoke and repeale those lawes and statutes whiche be impedymentes, blockes, and barres to the execution of my commission. For like as I myself had neyther place nor voice to speake here amonge you, but was to all respectes a banished man, til such time as ye hadde repealed those lawes that laie in my way; even so cannot you receave the benefite and grace offered from the Apostolike Sea, untyll the abrogacion of suche lawes whereby you have disjoyned and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christes church; it remaineth therefore that you, lyke true christians and provydente men, for the weale of your soules and bodies, ponder what is to be don in this so weightye a cause, and so to frame youre actes and procedinges, as they may tend first to the glorye of God, and next to the conservacion of youre common wealthe, suertye, and quietnes."

This was the substaunce of my lorde cardinalles oration, or rather his tale, whiche he pronounsed in such sort as no man could judge it any studyed matter, but a thing spoken *ex tempore*. Wherof a frende of myne, beinge a burges of the parliamente, and presente at the same tyme, toke the notes, and gave me the same in writing, so (as I beleve) nothinge that he spake in effecte is omitted.

And after that the assemble was broken, my lord cardinal taking leave

of the king and queenes magesties, went to hys house at Lambeth. Then shortly after the foresayd thre estates assembled agayne in the great chamber of the court at Westminster, where the kyng and quenes magestyes, and also my lorde cardynal, being present, they did exhibit, syttyng al on their knees, a supplicacion to their highnesses. Whiche supplicacion beyng read, their magesties exhibited the same unto my lorde cardinall; whose reverence, perceyving the effecte therof to be corresponding to his expectacion, did not only receive the same most humbly from their magesties, but also after he had in few woordes geven thankes to God, and hadde declared what great cause he had to rejoyse, above al others, that his cumming from Rome into Englande hadde taken moste happye successe, he representyng there the pope's holynes, and havyng the keys, and hys full power for the tyme, dyd geve them hys benediccion. Whiche beyng done, they all departed.

The copie of whyche supplycacion I have sent here also to your lordeship in maner, fourme, and effecte as foloweth, woorde by woorde:—

"We the lordes spirituall and temporall, and the commons of thys presente parlymente assembled, representing the whole bodye of the realme of Englande and dominions of the same, in oure owne names particulerly, and also of the sayde bodye universallye, in this supplication dyrected to youre magestyes, wyth moste humble suite, that it maye by youre gracious intercession and meane bee exhybyted to the moste reverende father in God the lorde cardinall Poole legate, sente speciallye hyther from oure moste holye father pope Julio the thirde, and the Sea Apostolyke of Rome; dooe declare ourselves very sorye and repentante of the scisme and disobedyence commytted in thys realme and the dominions of the same, agaynste the sayd Sea Apostolyke, eyther by makynge, agreing, or executyng any lawes, ordynaunces, or commaundementes agaynste the supremacye of the sayed Sea, or otherwyse dooing or speakynge that myghte impugn the same. Offeryng ourselves, and promising by this oure supplicacyon, that for a token and knowledge of our sayed repentaunce, wee be and shal be alway readye, under and with the authorities of youre magesties, to the uttermoste of oure power, to dooe that shal be in us for the abrogacyon and repealynge of the sayed lawes and ordinaunces in thys presente parlymente, as well for ourselves as for the whole bodye, whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humblye beseche your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of thys bodye towardes the saide Sea, which nevertheles

God by hys providence hath made subject to your majesties; so to set fourthe this oure moste humble suit that we maye obtaine from the Sea Apostolike, by the saide moste reverend father, as well particularlye as universallye, *absolution*, *release*, and *discharge*, from all daunger of suche censures and sentences, as by the lawes of the churche we be fallen in. And that we maye, as children repentaunte, be receaved into the bosome and unitye of Christes churche. So as thys noble realme, wyth all the membres thereof, maye in unitie and perfecte obedience to the Sea Apostolike, and popes for the tyme beinge, serve God and your majesties to the furderance and advancemente of hys honoure and glorye. Amen."

Then the fyrste sundaye in Advente followinge, my lorde cardinall came, at tenne of the clocke, from Lambeth by water, and landed at Poles wharfe. And cumminge from thence to Poles churche with a crosse, ii. pyllers, and two pollaxes of sylver borne before hym, he was there receaved by my lorde chaunceller, with procession. Where he taryed untill the kinges cummynge; whose hyghnes came from Westmynster by lande, and all hys nobles before him, to Poles also, at a leven of the clocke. And so the kynges majesty and my lord cardinall, wyth all the lordes of the privy counsell beinge presente, with suche an audience of people as was never sene in that place before, my lorde chaunceller entered Poles crosse. And after that the people ceased, that so much as a whispering could not be hearde emongest them, more then emongst those of whome the poet Virgil speaketh, *Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*, but every bente hartelye wyth eares to here, eyes to perceave, and handes to wryte, hys lordshyp proceded, and tooke to hys theam these wordes of the epystle of that daye, wrytten by saynte Paule the holye apostle in the xiii. chapter to the Romaynes, *Fratres, scientes quia hora est jam nos de somno surgere*, &c.

Whyche parcell of scripture was so godlye and so clearkelye handeled by him, as no manne alyve (all flattery doutles set aparte) was able to meande it. And there as saincte Paule exhorted the Romaines to caste awaye the workes of darkenes, and to put on the armoure of lyght, &c. even so his lordeshippe exhorted, wished, and willed, yea, and with all his hart desyred and praied all Englyshmen and others, which hadde slepte in Englande these twenty yeares in detestable heresyes, and erroneous doctrines, to forsake the devel, the fleshe, and the worlde, which was the occasyon of all

evill, and to embrace God and hys holye catholyke fayth, whyche fayth was taughte by him, preached by his apostles, and receved of them by auncient olde fathers in the primitive churche. Whyche fayth also hath continued through all christendom from age to age, and also in Englande, until king Henry the eight toke on hym to be Supreme head of the church. From which tyme unto the raygne of the quenes magestie that now is, his lordshippe declared what miseries, what calamities, what sorrowes, and griefes Englande had susteaned; what malice, what envie and hatred, what falshed, what crafte and subtiltie had reygned emongest all degrees in Englande; what abominable heresyes, what synistrat and erronious opinions were in Englande withoute anye restreynt taught and receaved; what tumultes and insurrections, to the castinge awaye of manye, and to the empoveryshynge of al, were in dyvers quarters of the same; and finallye, unto what ruyne and decaie the realme of Englande was like to come, yf almyghtye God of hys goodnes had not blest the same in tyme, wyth hys moste holye handes. These, wyth manye other notable, yea, and lamentable lessons, to longe here to bee rehersed, hys lordshyppe there declared, whyche moved a greate nombre of the audience with sorrowfull syghes and wepynge teares to chaunge theyr cheere.

In thys same selfe sermon he declared also, how xix. yeares agoe, at that tyme when the insurreccion in the north of Englande in defence of religion, that king Henry the eyght was minded to have geven over the supremacy to the pope's holines, but the leat therof was then because he thoughte it would be sayed it shoulde have been done for peace.

He declared also how the said king sente him and ser Henry Knyvet, knyghte, to the emperoure, exhorting his imperial majestie to be intercessour for him to the pope to receyve the supremacye; but it tooke none effect, because the time was not. He declared further, howe in kinge Edwardes dayes the counsell were once mynded to have the pope restored to the supremacy, but the let thereof was in those daies because, as it was supposed, it would have been sayd that the realme could not be defended durynge the kynges minoritie without the pope's adsistaunce. And, finally, he declared how the quenes magestie at her coronacyon thoughte for to have restored the popes holynes to his supremacy, but the tyme (he sayed) was not then. But now (sayd he) the tyme is cum that the kinges and quenes magesties have restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy,

and the thre estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of thys noble empire of England and dominions of the same, have submitted themselves to his holynes, and his successours for ever. He declared also, howe that the moste reverende father in God, lorde cardinall Poole, beinge there put * by the kinge, was sente in[to] Englande as deputed legate and ambassadoure from the Sea Apostolyke of Rome, havinge full and ample commission from the popes holynes to blesse the realme of Englande. And here also he declared, howe muche bounde Englande is to thanke God, who of his devine providence hath appointed suche a goodlye and vertuous prynce as the kynge that now is, he beinge sonne to soo victorious and moste riche an empereour, and he beinge also so riche a prince himselfe, to joyne in marriage with the queues majestie, who for the moste hartye love that he had to hir hygines, lefte his owne countreys, realmes, and regions to strengthen hir most noble grace, and to encriche her empyre of Englande. And so to conclude, his lordshippe declared, that all the premisses being well remembred and consydered of all the audience, and also the kyng and queues majesties goodly procedinges beinge of them and all other theyr true subjectes harteily embraced and faithfully followed, they al them myghte synge with the angell whiche appered to the shepherdes at the natyvytie and birth of oure Saviour Jesus Christ, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus*, &c. And finally to say with the prophet and psalmist David, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea.*

Whiche sermon beyng done, the kynges majestie departed towardes Westminster, and with his highnes my lorde cardinall, with the crosse only borne before him. Sens the daye of whiche sermon all such thinges as were amis and out of order here begin now to com to rule and square, and occupye their auncyente and accustomed places.

And the most holy catholike fayth and true religyon of Christ, whyche in Englande hath been thys long tyme bebynde the yoke and in captivitie, is now being delyvered and commyng home agayne, of all bothe younge and olde embraced, worshipped and honoured. And all erroneous doctrine and heretical bokes, with the teachers and setters fourth of the same are convicted, abolished, yea exploded and dryven out of Englande. And

* *So the original, probably an error for present.*—noted next the king.

finallye, all they whiche were herers and favorers of them, nowe layinge theyre handes to theyr heartes, and perceavinge theym selves seduced and deceaved by suche meanes, are sory, and do hartlye repent, mynding faithfully from hens forth their fautes to amend. Amongest whome I can no les do (my very good lorde) thenne numbre my selfe as one. For althoughe I was never (praysed be God) associated with any which wer erronious, or suspected to be fautours and defendours of hereticall and sinistrate opinions, but livinge under silence during the two late kinges procedinges, have kepte myselfe clere on every side, yet, nevertheles, as often as I have, and do remember with myselfe how lasciviously I lived in Englande these xx. yeres, and the most part thereof have followed the same trade of liberty and voluptuous livinge as a great numbre have done, where I myghte have endevoured myselfe in the meane season to vertuous learning and studye, I can no les doe, then lament and be sory; yea and with all my hart repente as others doe, purposinge (by God's grace) with them to mend my most miserable and synfull lyfe, and so to continew to my lyves ende. In which doing, I with those whiche have thus offended, and they with me, may be assured that our Saviour Christ, according unto his owne infallible wordes, spoken of one in the name of al sinners, wil have mercy, pity, and compassion on us, saying, *Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat.*

And thus England, and al we that dwel therein, accoumpt ourselves not onely happy, yea and moste happy, whiche from so many outragious stormes of errours, cares, and calamities, are thus called home agayne to the sure haven and porte of the most holy catholyke faythe; but also we do beleve with our very hartes, and do confesse with al our mouthes, that almighty God of hys devine providence hath preserved and kept iii. persons, as lode-starres and chiefe guydes, for the defendinge, inbringinge, and restoring of Englande thus to the unitie of Christes churche.

The first is the quenes majestie, who being from her infancye a virgin, and immaculate from all spottes of heresies: it hath pleased God to defende hir, ayde hir, and save hir from the handes, power, and might of her enemies, and geving her the victorye over them in twinkelinge of an eye, whiche as roaryng lions would have devoured her. The second is my lord cardinal, who beyng an exile out of hys native countreth Englande, these xxi. yeares, for the two causes before mentioned, and in the meane season

so abhorred, so hated, and so detested, as no man durst scars ones name him, whom the quenes magestie nowe hath restored to his bloud, and to the honour of his house. And the thirde is my lorde the bishop of Wynchester, lorde chaunceller of England, against whom from tyme to tyme suche sharpe snares have been layed, and suche ordinaunce leveled, for that he favored, and wold have to his power defended the most holy catholicke fayth, that it is a wounder howe he hath escaped, and speciallye at hys late being in London toure.

But suche are the workes of God the author of all goodnesse, who alwayes when it pleaseth him plucketh downe and deposeth the proude and hyghe minded, and defendeth and exalteth the humble and lowe of spirit, so that now all Christendom, as well as Englande, doth confesse that these forenamed iii. persons have been thus, throughe the providence of God, moste happly defended, preserved, and kept from their enemies handes, above the expectacion and judgement of all menne, for the restoring of Englande agayne to the unitie of Christes religion. Which (no dout it is) shal be to the glorye of God, the wealth of Englande, and to the perpetuall peace, love, and quietnes of this moste noble and hole yle of Britayn.

Other newes I have none, but those newes which most joifully rejoyseth all Englande, that the quenes magestie is conceaved with child, whom our Lord long preserve, and send her highnes a gracious delyveraunce. And also, that in Christmasse holydayes, the prynce of Piemont arryved in Englande, and shortly after hym the prince of Orenge, whiche are very pryncely intreated with the king and quenes magesties. And beecause I thought youre lordshipe woulde be somewhat desirous to knowe the stature and shape of this noble prince, the kynges magestie of Englande that nowe is, whom you have not sene, I thought it not muche amysse to descrybe hys person by wryting, that your mynde may conceave that which your iye hath not seen. As for the quenes most excellent magesties person, whose person you have so often tymes sene, I shall not greatlye nede to depainte unto you. Understande, therfore, that touchyng hys higth, I can wel compare hym to John Hume my lord of Jedwardes kinsman.[a] Of visage he is

[a] The lord of Jedwarth, or Jedburgh, at this time, appears to have been sir John Ker, whose father, sir Andrew Ker, of Fernihurst, had received the office of bailiary of Jedburgh forest in 1542, and whose mother was Janet, second daughter of sir Patrick Home, of Polwarth. The "John Hume" here alluded to was probably one of the Johns named in the descent of the earls of Marchmont. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, by Wood, ii. 174, 175.

well favored, with a brod forhead, and grey iyes, streight nosed, and manly countenaunce. From the forhead to the point of hys chynne, hys face groweth smal. His pace is princely, and gate so straight and upright, as he leseth no inche of his higthe; with a yeallowe head and a yeallowe berde. And thus to conclude, he is so wel proporcioned of bodi, arme, legge, and every other limme to the same, as nature cannot work a more parfite paterne; and, as I have learned, of the age of xxviii. yeares; whose majesty I judge to bee of a stoute stomake, pregnaunt witted, and of most jentel nature.

I have also sent your lordship certain verses and adages [a] written with the hande of the lorde Henry Stuarde, lorde Dernley, your nephew, which he wrot this tyme twelvemoneth, I beinge with him then at Temple Newsome in Yorkshire. And what praise your lordship may thinke him worthie, for this his towardnes in wrighting, beinge not yet fully ix. yeares of age, the like praise is he worthye (suerlye) in his towardnes in the Latin tounge, and the Frenche, and in sundrye other vertuous qualities; whome also God and nature hath endued with a good wit, jentilnes, beutie, and favour. So yf it may please God to lend him long life, he shall prove a witty, vertuous, and an active, well learned gentle man, whose noble parentes are my singuler good patrons. And thus trusting that your good lordship, of your accustomed humanitie and jentilnes, wil accept thys my symple letter in good parte, sent unto you for this newe yeares gyfte, although it be rude and destitute of wit, lerning, and eloquence, I most humbly besech the Kyng of kynges, and Lorde of lordes, long to preserve and kepe youre reverende lordeship in health, wealth, and fortunate felicitie, with a meri and mani newe yeares.

From the citie of London, this new yeares day, and the first of the kalenders of January. 1555.

By youre reverende lordeship's humble oratour,

JOHN ELDER.

The book concludes with a copy of the queen's letters patent to John Waylande for printing primers and manuells of prayers, which has been reprinted in the Typographical Antiquities, (Dibdin's edit.) vol. iii. p. 522. Ames supposed that the present tract was also printed by John Walley, but that, probably, is a mistake.

---

[a] These verses are not printed in the little book.

APPENDIX XI.

The Marriage of Queen Mary and King Philip.

This is the official account recorded by the English heralds. I have not been able to discover the original or contemporary manuscript; but there are several copies of it both at the College of Arms and the British Museum, some of them less complete from abridgment. It was printed at the end of Leland's Collectanea, edit. 1774, vol. ii. "Copied out of a book of presidents collected by Ralph Brooke, York herauld, now remaining with sir Edward Dering; examined this 28th of Feb. 1634, by us, William Le Neve, Norroy, and Edward Whitley."

The marriage of queen Mary and Philip prince of Spain, son to Charles the Fifth, emperor; in the cathedrall church of Winchester, on wensday 25th July, 1554.

First, the said church was richly hanged with arras and cloth of gold, and in the midst of the church, from the west door unto the rood, was a scaffold erected of timber, at the end whereof was raised a mount, covered all with red say, and underneath the roode-loft were erected two traverses, one for the queen on the right hand, and the other for the prince on the left, which places served very well for the purpose. The quire was allso richly hanged with cloth of gold, and on each side of the altar were other two rich traverses as aforesaid, for the queenes majestie and prince.

The queen made her entry into the city of Winchester very richly in apparell, on saturday the 21st of July, and was lodged in the bishop's palace, and prince Philip made his entry into the said city on munday after, being the 23d of July; at whose entry the mayor delivered him the keys of the city, which he received, and delivered them back again, being lodged at the dean's house.

On wensday the 25th of July, being St. James's day, the prince, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, embroidered,[a] with a great company of the

[a] "His breeches and doublet were white, the collar of the doublet exceeding rich, and over all a mantle of rich cloth of gold, a present from the queen, who wore one of the same; this robe was ornamented with pearls and precious stones; and wearing the collar of the Garter." Louvaine narrative.—In Simon Renard's letter to the emperor, on the

nobles of Spayne, in such sort as the like hath not been seen, proceded to the church, and entered in at the west door, and passed to his traverse, all the way on foot; and to the church he had no sword borne before him.

Then came the queenes majesty, accompanied with a great number of the nobility of the realm, the sword being borne before her by the earl of Derby, and a great company of ladyes and gentlewomen very richly apparelled; her majesty's train was borne up by the marquesse of Winchester,[a] assisted by sir John Gage her lord chamberlayne; and so she proceeded to the church; the kinges and herauldes of arms in their coates going before her from her lodging on foot to the church, where entering at the west door she passed on till she came to her traverse. Then the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, which did the divine service, assisted by the bishopes of London, Duresme, Chichester, Lyncoln, and Ely, all with their crosiers borne before them, came out of the quier to the mount.

Then came the regent Figirola, whose name was *(blank)*, and presented to the prince a solemn oration with a patent sent from the emperor to the prince, of the surrender of the kingdom of Naples, freely given to him and his heirs, as by the said patent was declared; which patent was fair sealed and inclosed in a cover of silver gilt. This done, the lord chamberlayn[b] made a goodly oration to the people, which was in effect as followeth: Whereas the emperor, by his embassadors here in England, hath concluded and contracted a marriage between the queen's majesty and his chief jewell and son and heir Philip prince of Spain, here present, the articles whereof are not unknowen to the whole realme, and confirmed by act of parliament, so that there needeth no further rehearsall of that matter, &c. and so likewise declared that the queenes highness had sent the earl of Bedford and the lord Fitzwater embassadores unto the realme of Spain. for the performing of the said contract, which they have here brought. with the consent of the whole realme of Spayne, for the full conclusion of the same, as may

14th June, he reported, that "The quene has had a collar (of the Garter) made, which cost seven or eight thousand crowns, besides several rich dresses for his highness; but, except this, I see no great preparation by the nobility, or by the people, for his reception." Tytler, ii. 416.

[a] *i. e.* the lady marquess, or marchioness.

[b] This should be lord chancellor: see before, p. 141.

appear by this instrument in parchment, sealed with a great seal, containing by estimation 12 leaves.

Then the lord chamberlayn [a] delivered openly for the solemnification of their highness' marriage, how that the emperor had given unto his son the kingdom of Naples. So that it was thought the queen's majesty should marry but with a prince, now it was manifested that she should marry with a king; and so proceeded to the espousals; and with a loud voice said that, if there be any man that knoweth any lawful impediment between these two parties, that they should not go together according to the contract concluded between both realmes, that then they should come forth, and they should be heard; or else to proceed to celebration of the said marriage, which was pronounced in English and Latin; and when it came to the gift of the queen it was asked who should give her. Then the marquess of Winchester, the earles of Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke, gave her highness, in the name of the whole realm.

Then all the people gave a great shout, praying God to send them joy; and, the ring being laid upon the book to be hallowed, the prince laid also upon the said book iij. hand-fulls of fine gold; which the lady Margaret [b] seeing, opened the queen's purse, and the queen smilingly put up in the same purse. And when they had inclosed their hands, immediately the sword was advanced before the king, by the earl of Pembroke.

This done, the trumpetes sounded; and thus both returned hand in hand, the sword being borne before them, to their traverses in the quier, the queen going always on the right hand, and there remained until mass was done; at which time wine and sops were hallowed, and gave unto them; and immediately after, Garter king of arms, with the other kinges and heraulides, published and proclaimed their titles in Latin, French, and English; and so they returned to the bishop's palace both under one canopy, born by vij. knightes, the queen on the right hand, and their

[a] The lord chancellor.

[b] This was the lady Margaret Clifford, the queen's only female relative that was now with her. Miss Strickland (who quite misinterprets the present passage, in her Lives of the Queens, vol. v. p. 380,) supposes the purse-bearer to have been the lady Margaret Douglas; but that lady was now countess of Lennox. See the dates before given in p. 84.

swordes borne before them; and so proceeded to the hall, where they both dined under one cloth of estate.

Of the marriage banquet the narrative of Edward Underhill supplies some account:[a]

"On the maryage daye, the kynge and the quene dyned in the halle in the bushop's palice, sittynge under the clothe of estate, and none eles att that table. The nobillitie satte att the syde tables. Wee[b] weare the cheffe sarveters, to cary the meate, and the yearle of Sussex ower capetayne was the shewer (sewer).[c] The seconde course att the maryage off a kynge is gevyne unto the bearers; I meane the meate, butt nott the dissbes, for they weare off golde. It was my chaunce to cary a greate pastie of a redde dere in a greate charger, very delicately baked; wiche for the weyght theroff dyvers refused; the wiche pastye I sentt vnto London to my wyffe and her brother, who cherede therwith many off ther frends. I wyll not take vppon me to wryte the maner off the maryage, off the feaste, nor off the daunssyngs of the Spanyards thatt daye, who weare greately owte off countenaunce, specyally kynge Phelip dauncesynge, when they dide se me lorde Braye, Mr. Carowe, and others so farre excede them; butt wyll leve it unto the learned, as it behovithe hym to be thatt shalle wryte a story off so greate a tryoumffe."

To the foregoing narrative a list of the Spanish grandees who visited England on this occasion is annexed, but they are evidently much disarranged, and nearly every name is repeated, and some more than once. They may be reduced to some order, as follows, though it would require a Spanish herald to give them their due precedency:

[a] MS. Harl. 425, f. 97.

[b] i. e. the gentlemen pensioners.

[c] "At the banquet, the earl of Arundel presented the ewer, the marquess of Winchester the napkin; none being seated except the king and queen: but, as to the rest of the entertainment, it was more after the English than the Spanish fashion. The dinner lasted till six in the evening, after which there was store of music; and before nine all had already retired." Narrative from the archives of Louvaine, in Tytler, ii. 432.

Don Cesar de Gonzaga, eldest son of Don Ferdinando, governor of Milan. [a]

The duke of Alva, and his wife.

The duke of Medina Celi.

The admiral of Castille, don Antonio de Toledo, . . . to the duke of Alva.

The marquis of Pescara.

The marquis de Savia.

The marquis de los Valles.

The marquis d'Aquillara.

The marquis de las Naves.

The conde de Feria.

The conde de Chinchon.

The conde d'Olivares.

The conde de Saldanha.

The conde de Modica.

The conde de Fuensalida.

The conde de Castellar.

The conde Landriano.

The baron of Cuença. [b]

Don Diego de Mendoça.

The grand commander of the cross of Calatrava.

The major of Valladolid.

The major of Vallefiguiere.

Rui Gomez de Silva, grand chamberlain of the prince.

The count of Egmont.

The count of Hornes.

The marquis of Berghes.

The sieur de Martini.

NOTE.—Don Juan Figueroa, the ambassador who witnessed the marriage contract (see p. 168 ante) is thus noticed in a news-letter of the day :—

"Upon Tewesdaye in Whytsen weke came the byshope of Norwyche to the courte.

---

[a] The evening before his landing Philip sent the prince of Gonzaga [*misprinted* Gavze *in Tytler*] and count d'Egmont, to the queen then at Winchester, to inform her of his arrival and good health. Narrative on record at Louvaine.

[b] The list at Louvaine says, the *bishop* of Cuença. Tytler, ii. 433.

Upon Wednysday, the day foloynge, came over *the ancyent imbassytor, with grey berde*, that was here when the kynge dyed; and, as the breute gothe, he shalbe mershall, and execute mercyall lawes of all strangers that come in." Robert Swyft to the earl of Shrewsbury, 20 May, 1554, Lodge's State Papers, i. 193.

APPENDIX XII.

VERSES BY THE WINCHESTER SCHOLARS ON THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE.

The very book of verses which was presented by the Winchester scholars to queen Mary (see p. 143) is still preserved bound up in the royal manuscript (Brit. Museum,) 12 A XX. It consists of fifteen leaves of small quarto, and on the first leaf is stuck a small piece of parchment, apparently cut out of the outer cover, on which is written in red ink

Mariæ Reginæ.

showing that this was the copy presented to the queen. The title is as follows:

AD . PHILLIPPVM . ET .
MARIAM .
REGES
Semper Augustos
Puerorum
COLLŒGII WICKAMENSIS
Apud illustrem Wintoniam
Carmen nuptiale.
1554.

At the back of the title is a pedigree exhibiting the descent of both the king and queen, each in two ways,[a] from the four children of *Joannes de*

[a] The generations descend as follow:—
Philippa queen of Portugal—Edward king of Portugal—Elionor wife of the emperor Frederick—Maximilian the emperor—Philip king of Castille—Charles the fifth, emperor—Philip.

Gandavo Dux Lancastriæ, son of king Edward the Third; from *Philippus* and *Maria* descends a circle intended for their issue, void *donec impleatur;* in allusion to which these verses are attached.

Deest puer, at dabitur (Christo donante) Mariam
Qui vocitet matrem, teque, Philippe, patrem;
Nascere magne puer parvo scribendus in orbe,
Nomine signetur pagina nostra tuo.

The whole pedigree is made to surround as with a double collar the following lines:

Nubat ut Angla Anglo Regina, Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem Regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis Dæmon vetus hostis,
Sed Deus Anglorum provida spes voluit.
Gallia terra ferax, et inhospita Scotia nollet,[a]
Cæsar, et Italia, et Flandria tota volet.
Octo maritati mitrati [b] in Dæmone nollent,
Quinque cathenati pro pietate volent.
Nollet Joannes Dudli Northumbrius ursus,
Sed fidum regni concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis nostræ Catilina Viattus,
Sed proceres, sed plebs, et pia turba volet.
Transfuga siquis homo est, vel siquis apostata, nollet,
Cui fidei, et voti cura relicta, volet.

Katharine queen of Castille and Spain—James the second, king of Castille—Elizabeth wife of Ferdinand king of Arragon and Castille—Jane queen of Castille—Charles the fifth, emperor—Philip.

John earl of Somerset—John duke of Somerset—Margaret countess of Richmond—Henry the seventh, king of England and France—Henry the eighth, king of England, France, and Ireland—Mary.

Jane countess of Westmerland—Cecilia duchess of York—Edward the fourth, king of England and France—Elizabeth, queen of England and France, wife of Henry the seventh—Henry the eighth, king of England, France, and Ireland—Mary.

[a] As printed by Foxe, this line is altered thus:—

Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prælia Gallus.

[b] The eight married bishops. Another couplet is placed before this by Foxe—

Noluit hæreticus (stirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex,
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.

Nos, quod proditio, nos quod volet hæresis, illud
Nolumus, at Dominus quod voluit, volumus.[a]

These verses were the composition of John White, bishop of Lincoln, and they were published, with the variations indicated below, in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, followed by four replies in the same Latin metre, the two first written by John Parkhurst afterwards bishop of Norwich, the third "made by I. C." and the last anonymous.

The other verses in the Winchester book were the production of Gabriel White, Edward Middelton, Nicholas Hargrave, Richard White, Luke Atslow, William Dibbins, John Noble, Edward Tichborne, Henry Twichener, Philip Dale (? Dælus), Ambrose Edmunds, William Palmer, Richard Harris, John Meyrick, Lewis Owen, John Satwel, Arkenwold Willoby, Thomas More, Thomas Reding, Nicholas Hodson, Thomas Darell, Henry Harenden, Thomas Wright, Edmund Thomas, and Rodolph Griffin. They are all in Latin verse.

APPENDIX XIII.

STATE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY DURING THE YEARS 1553 AND 1554.

(In continuation of Appendix III.)

[Rymer has admitted into his collection of Fœdera, &c. many documents belonging to this period, but which are chiefly patents conferring offices, or relating to other matters of a personal nature; these have not been inserted in the present catalogue, which is confined to such documents as relate more immediately to the conduct of the queen's government.]

Register of the Privy Council of queen Mary, commencing July 16, 1553, and continuing to the 3d November in the same year.

Printed in the Cecill Papers; by Haynes, p. 155—195.

---

[a] In the copy in Foxe four other lines are substituted for the four last above—

Nollet Graius dux, et Cantia terra rebellans,
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetet sua limina sanguis
Cum sit Philippo juncta Maria viro.

Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council made by Ralph Starkey, MS. Harl. 643. They commence on the Aug. 1553, and extend to the close of Mary's reign.

Some passages were selected by sir Henry Ellis and edited in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. pp. 173—185; but for the year 1553 there are only one or two paragraphs that were not already printed in the Cecill Papers, as above stated.

July 8. Letter of queen Mary to sir George Somerset, sir William Drury, sir William Waldgrave, knights, and Clement Heigham, esquire, signifying to them the death of king Edward, and commanding them to repair to her at Kenynghall. Dated July 8, 1553.

MS. Lansdowne 1236, fol. 29.

July 9. Letter of the queen to sir Edward Hastings, requiring him to support her title, especially in the counties of Middlesex and Bucks.

Original in MS. Petyt; printed in Strype's Memorials, iii. Appx. I.

July 20. Letter of the council to queen Mary, dated from Baynard's castle immediately after her proclamation in London.

Draft copy in MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 26: printed in Strype's Cranmer, Appx. No. LXXI.; Ellis's Original Letters, second series, ii. 243.

July 25. Letter of the authorities at Guisnes to the queen, announcing the arrest of Henry Duddeley.[a]

Printed in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. Appx. III.

Aug. 5. Letter of the council to the commissioners at Brussels, recalling sir Philip Hoby and sir Richard Morysine, and directing the bishop of Norwich to remain as ambassador resident; carried by sir Thomas Cheney, K.G.

Copy in MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII. p. 253, printed in Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 299.

Aug. 12. Letter of the council to doctor Wotton, sir William Pickering, and sir Thomas Chaloner, conveyed by sir Anthony St. Leger, to continue doctor Wotton as ambassador in France.

Original in MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 27.

[a] Henry Duddeley was captain of the guard at Guisnes, and had been sent in embassy to the king of France by his uncle (?) the duke of Northumberland. On returning to Guisnes, he was arrested, and brought to the tower of London. His father (?) sir Andrew Duddeley, K.G. was captain of Guisnes.

1553.

Aug. 20. Letter under the queen's signet to the chancellor of Cambridge on the government of that university.

In MS. Cole, Brit. Mus. vol. xlii. p. 426; printed in Ellis's Orig. Letters, second series, vol. ii. p. 246.

Sept. 21. Letter of the council to sir William Cecill, directing him to surrender the seals belonging to the order of the Garter.

Printed in Cecill Papers, by Haynes, p. 201.

1553-4.

Jan. 22. Letter of the queen, under her signet, to sir Hugh Pollard, sir John St. Leger, sir Richard Edgcomb, and sir John Fulford, to oppose sir Peter Carew's rising in Devonshire.

Original in the State Paper Office: printed in Miss Wood's collection of Letters, iii. 285.

Jan. 26. Letter of the queen, under her signet, summoning the lady Elizabeth to court.

Printed in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, v. 346.

Jan. 27. Circular letter of the queen, under her signet, desiring the levy of forces to oppose the duke of Suffolk and his brethren.

Original in MS. Tanner, Bodleian Lib. 90, f. 196; Wood, iii. 287. Also printed in the present volume, p. 186.

Jan. 28. Letter of the duke of Norfolk to the council, describing his march against Wyat: dated from Gravesend.

Original in the State Paper Office: printed in Cruden's History of Gravesend and the Port of London, 1843, 8vo. p. 175.

Jan. 29. Second letter from the duke to the council.

From the State Paper Office, ibid. p. 176.

——— Letter of lord Cobham to the duke of Norfolk, and another of lord Cobham to the queen, the latter inclosing a letter of sir Thomas Wyat to lord Cobham.

From the State Paper Office, ibid. pp. 178, 179.

Jan. 30. Letter of lord Cobham to the queen: describing the rebels' attack on Cowling castle.

From the State Paper Office, ibid. p. 180.

Jan. 30. Letter of the queen to the earl of Sussex, requiring him to raise forces against the rebels.

Original in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. II.; Wood, iii. 289.

List of prisoners for treason in the last rebellion, and method of proceeding against the said prisoners. Printed in Cecill Papers, by Haynes, p. 192.

Jan. 31. Letter of lord Abergavenny to the council, on the duke of Norfolk's defeat.

From the State Paper Office, in Cruden's History of Gravesend and the Port of London, p. 180.

Feb. 1. Sir Thomas Cheney to the council, from Sherlond, excusing his delay in attacking the rebels, on account of "the beastlyness of the people" and indisposition to serve with him.

From the State Paper Office, ibid. p. 183.

Feb. 4. A second letter of sir Thomas Cheney to the council, dated from Sittingbourne.

From the State Paper Office, ibid. p. 184.

Feb. 11. Letter of the lord admiral, sir Edward Hastings, and sir T. Cornwaleys from Ashridge to the queen, relating the particulars of their interview there with the lady Elizabeth.

From the State Paper Office; in Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 426.

Feb. 25. Mr. secretary Bourne, and other commissioners, to the lord chancellor and secretary Petre, respecting their examination of Wyat, and other prisoners, in the Tower.

From the State Paper Office; in Tytler, ii. 313.

Mar. 13. A commission (in Latin) to deprive Robert archbishop of York, Robert bishop of St. David's, John bishop of Chester, and Paul bishop of Bristol.

Patent roll 1 Mar. pars 7; printed by Burnet, Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. Records to book II. number 11; Rymer, vol. xv. p. 370.

Mar. 15. A commission (in English) from the queen to deprive John bishop of Lincoln, John bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and John bishop of Hereford, who had been made bishops by

1554.

king Edward VI. with the express clause *quamdiu se bene gesserit.*

Printed by Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. Records to book II. number 12; Rymer, vol. xv. p. 370.

March. The treaty for the marriage of the queen with Philip prince of Spain.

Printed in Rymer's Fœdera, edit. 1713, vol. xv. p. 377; also in Carte's History of England, iii. 301.

April 20. Letter of queen Mary to king Philip.

Original in MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III.; Wood, iii. 290.

May 23. Circular letter, under the queen's signet, to the justices of peace, directing them to search for the authors of seditious tales and vain prophesies.

Original, filled in for the county of "Norffolke," in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. II. f. 119; printed by Burnet, Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. Records to book II. number 14; and in Miss Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii. p. 292.

June 25. Ratification of the marriage treaty by Philip.

Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. pp. 393—403.

July 4. Letter of the queen to the lord treasurer (marquess of Winchester), respecting a grant to sir Edmund Peckham; the postscript in her own hand, "My Lord, I moste hartely thancke you for your dayly paynfulnes taken in my service." Dated "From Farname, the iiijth of Julye."

Original in MS. Cotton. Titus, B. II. f. 157; printed in Ellis's Original Letters, second series, ii. 253.

——— The queen's instructions to the lord privy seal (the earl of Bedford [a]), sent to meet king Philip.

Original in MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. f. 12. This document is entirely in the queen's hand, as follows:

"Instructions for my lord Previsel—

"Fyrste, to tell the kyng the whole state of this realme with all thyngs appartaynyng to the same, asmyche as ye knowe to be trewe.

[a] Miss Wood, Letters, vol. iii. p. 290, has in error supposed that the earl of Derby was the lord privy seal.

"Seconde, to obey hys commandment in all thyngs.

"Thyrdly, in all thyngs he shall aske your advyse, to declare your opinion as becometh a faythfull conceyllour to do.

"MARYE THE QUENE."

This is supposed by sir Henry Ellis, Orig. Letters, second series, ii. 252, to have been written "upon the arrival of Philip II." It is remarkable that Mary speaks of him as "the kyng," and not the prince of Spain.

July 27. Proclamation declaring the king and queen's style.

Rot. Patent. 2 Mar. p. 2, m. 5; Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 404.

Aug. 4. Letter of the lady "Anna the daughter of Cleves" (the divorced queen of Henry VIII.) to the queen, from her "poor house at Hever," desiring permission to wait on her majesty.

From the State Paper Office; in Tytler, ii. 433.

Oct. 2. Letter, under the queen's sign manual and signet, to the earl of Sussex, to admonish the choice of such knights, citizens, or burgesses to the parliament "as may be of the wise, grave, and catholic sort."

Original in MS. Petyt; printed by Burnet, Hist. of the Reform. vol. iii. Records to book V. number 14.

Nov. 5. Instructions given to lord Paget and the master of the horse, sent to meet cardinal Pole.

Imperfect draft in the State Paper Office; Tytler, ii. 445.

Nov. 30. Supplication of the lords and commons, addressed to the king and queen, submitting the realm to the pope, and praying absolution from the legate cardinal Pole.

MS. Cotton. Titus, C. VII. 118; translation in Howard's Lady Jane Gray, p. 347. See also in Elder's tract, *antea*, p. 160.

Several despatches of the English ambassadors to the emperor and the king of France during the same period, are printed in Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, from the originals in the State Paper Office; but these belong rather to foreign than domestic politics. The despatches of the French ambassador, Noailles, from England, are in print, and have been frequently quoted in the present volume; those of the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, have been partially published in Mr. Tytler's work.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 1. *The occupation of the Tower of London.* The French ambassador Noailles, who was closely watching the progress of events at the time of the death of Edward the Sixth, thus describes the seizure of the Tower, which in a second place he states to have been accomplished at two o'clock in the morning of Friday the 7th of July, that is, as soon as the lords could reach London from Greenwich, where the king expired late on the previous evening. "Le dict jour millord tresorier, marquis de Northampton, comte de Scheresbury, et M. l'admiral, estoient entrés dans la Tour, ou ils avoient visité le trésor, gardes, forteresses, artillerie et munitions, laissant ledict sieur admiral avec bonne compagnie dedans pour la garde d'icelle, lequel y est pour n'en despartir tant que ce trouble durera." And a courier sent to France was instructed to report "Comme des le lendemain vendredy, deux heures de matin, milord tresorier et marquis de Northampton, comte de Scheresbury, et l'admiral vindrent en la Tour, faire le dit admiral connestable d'icelle, lui baillant en garde les tresors, munitions, et prisonniers y etant." (Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 52, 56.) It seems not improbable, then, that the lord admiral (Clinton) was really constituted constable of the Tower, and so continued during the reign of queen Jane, to the exclusion of sir John Gage: the statement, therefore, derived by Strype from Machyn's Diary, and thence detailed in the works of subsequent historians, will be correct, excepting that the name of sir James Croft is placed in the room of sir John Gage. This remark is made partly in order to complete the list of the constables and lieutenants of the Tower prefixed to Machyn's Diary at p. xix; and in further amendment of the same the name of sir Thomas Brydges may be inserted as the lieutenant in succession to his brother, lord Chandos, in June 1554, on the authority of the present volume, p. 76.

Page 1, line 5 of note [a], *for* some *read* sure.

Page 2. *Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.* The story told in the verses may be thought less probable when it is considered in connection with two circumstances of the conduct of sir Nicholas at this crisis, 1. that he drew the proclamation of queen Jane, as stated by Cecill in his Apology; 2. that he was engaged in a military capacity on behalf of queen Jane, and narrowly escaped from an attack of the townsmen of Northampton (as related by the letter-writer in p. 12). After that, he united with sir Thomas Tresham to support queen Mary (p. 13).

Page 9, note [b], *read* Sir Thomas Cheney.

Page 14, line 14, *for* Allgate *read* Aldersgate.

Page 18, line 23, *for* mr. John Abridges *read* Thomas ; *but it is an error of the original manuscript.*

Page 25, line 25, *for* was judge *read* can judge. Line 29, *the word printed* fewers *is doubtful, but it is apparently* ferwers *and perhaps meaning* fervours, *i. e.* the fervour of youth. In page 26, line 4, *for* attempted, *the sense requires* unattempted, *but this is an error of the writer.*

Page 32, note [b]. The parliament met at Westminster on Thursday the 5th October, the queen being then present. (Journals of the House of Commons, i. 27; and see Elder's Tract, *antea*, p. 154.)

Page 33, line 23, *for* Roane *read* Rome. The MS. is so obscure, that the Editor (as explained in the note) was induced to believe Rouen was mentioned. The book was printed at Rouen, but another edition printed in London by Hugh Singleton, was pretended to be printed "in Rome;" see Ames's Typographical Antiquities (edit. Dibdin), vol. iii. p. 290; vol. iv. p. 291.

Page 45, line 5. Sir Rychard Southwell *should be* Sir Robert, who was the sheriff of Kent; this is an error of the chronicler.

Page 45. *Wyat's conduct in Southwark.* Stowe has inserted in the account of Wyat's stay in Southwark, derived from our author, the following paragraph :

"Notwithstanding, foorthwith divers of his company, being gentlemen (as they sayd), went to Winchester place, made havocke of the bishop's goods (hee being lord chancellor), not onely of his victuals, whereof there was plenty, but whatsoever els, not leaving so much as one locke of a doore but the same was taken off and carried away, nor a book in his gallery or library uncut, or rent into pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of bookes, cut out and throwne under feete." This statement is no doubt highly exaggerated. Proctor, who was much prejudiced against Wyat, admits that he immediately checked the spoil of Winchester house, and so sharply threatened a certain young gentleman, who was the most active party therein, that he made divers believe that he would have hanged him on the wharf. Another proof of Wyat's moderation was, that he abstained from releasing the prisoners in the Marshalsea. See the narrative of Mountain's troubles in Strype's Memorials.

After Wyat was defeated, the French ambassador, De Noailles, paid him the tribute of having proved himself the most valiant and confident insurgent that he had ever heard of,—"le plus vaillant et asseuré de quoye j'aye jamais ouy parler, qui a mis ladicte dame et seigneurs de son conseil en telle et si grande peur, qu'elle s'est veue par l'espece de huict jours en bransle de sa couronne." Noailles had before written of him at the commencement of the insurrection, as one "qui est estimé par deçà homme vaillant et de bonne conduicte;" and M. D'Oysel the French ambassador in Scotland, who was at this time in London, having informed the king, his master, of sir Thomas Croft's designs, adds that he was joined by "sir Thomas Wiat, qui est ung autre gentil chevallier et fort estimé parmy ceste nation." Ambassades de Noailles, iii. 15, 46, 59.

Page 120, line 18, *for* form *read* from.

Page 122. *Second insurrection of the duke of Suffolk.* The depositions of John Bowyer and Thomas Rampton, the steward and secretary of the duke of Suffolk, which are preserved in the State Paper Office, elucidate the history of the last outbreak of that rash and ill-advised nobleman, with greater perspicuity than has hitherto found its way into our history.

John Bowyer commences his narration by stating that, having been summoned to attend upon his master at Shene, on Friday the 26th of January, he was ordered to go to London to fetch a sum of 100 marks which were in his custody, and also to tell lord Thomas and lord John Grey to start from London at vj that evening. Bowyer, with the money, was to rejoin the duke at Leicester. He performed his master's commands in London, and arranged to accompany the two lords. They started at vij that evening; and, going by way of Enfield Chase, left Barnet on one side, and called at the house of Mr. Wroth; which, from another paper,[a] we learn was at Cheshunt. Wroth came out of his house, and one Harrington with him. This was John Harrington, of whom more anon. After some parley, Wroth and Harrington declined to proceed with them on such short notice. So they went on to St. Alban's, and thence through Dunstable, Brickhill, and Stony Stratford, not stopping to bait until they arrived at Towcester, where they expected to overtake the duke. He had ridden on to Lutterworth, where they found him at the house of one Johnson, a tenant of his, and so they rode together to Bradgate the next day. Up to this time, as Bowyer declared, he was ignorant of their intentions, but then he heard them say that "they would go with all the power they might against the Spaniards."

Bowyer was next required to tell what was done to further the insurrection whilst the duke remained in his own house; but he was evidently unwilling to inculpate himself. He owned to having been employed to write to Palmer of Kegworth,[b] to summon him.—Mr. doctor Cave[c] was with the duke in his chamber devising a letter to be sent to the queen: and a form of proclamation was prepared, and sent for publication to lord John Grey, lord Thomas Grey, and Rampton.

The same night (Monday the 29th January,) the duke rode to Leicester, and there, after supper, went about the Newewark, and saw all the gates fastened, and then said that the earl of Huntingdon would take his part, and had sent word so to him.

The following day he commanded Bowyer to write a letter to the townshippe of Northampton to have them in aredyness, and therewith sent a proclamation also. About the same time Bowyer heard from lord Thomas that he had received five hundred pounds from Palmer.

---

[a] See bishop Gardyner's letter, which follows.

[b] Robert Palmer, gentleman, bachelor of laws, was made bailiff of Kegworth by William lord Parre, afterwards marquess of Northampton, Nov. 10, 1540, and was afterwards the general supervisor and receiver of all the marquess's estates in various counties. Nichols's Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 851.

[c] Francis Cave, of Bagrave, in Leicestershire, was a doctor of laws, and died in 1584. This was probably the person above mentioned; unless sir Ambrose Cave, his contemporary and relation, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer in the reign of Elizabeth, and a great friend of sir William Cecill, was also a doctor of laws. See Nichols's Leicestershire, iv. 351, 357.

"In the afternoone he (the duke) armed himself and cawsed all his servauntes to arme theim. I being in the chambre with him, bade me to boockell his cosshes, and being chaffed at some thing sodainelie gave me a lytell blowe with the back of his hand, and whether he thought hit had bene his armorer or no I cannot tell, but I left him in his chambre and fet him his monie, the hundreth marckes which I had, and told him I had mard both my geldinges with the carryadge of the monie, and so desyred that if I shoold carrie hit still he woold appoint me one of his geldinges for my man. Then he said he had no geldinges to spare, and tooke the money to one Gerves." Bowyer then adds (in order to shew that he was an unwilling agent) that at that time he had no armour upon him, nor for a long time after, insomuch that the duke was very angry with him, and bad him to put a jack or some thing else upon him, which he then did.

The duke sent a letter by Berridge, the carrier of Leicester, to Shene, to one Fynderne and Cholmley, for all his plate.

On Tuesday (January 30) in the afternoon, the duke rode towards Coventry, and at his coming within a quarter of a mile he sent to the gates, and Burdet brought him answer that the gates were shut against him. Then he with all his company rode to Astley, and there every man put off his harneyes, and the lord Thomas and the lord John took fryse coats of the servants. Soon after, whilst Bowyer was absent from the company looking after his horses, the money was hastily divided, so that he and two or three more had nothing at all. "Then I wished I had never known service to see that change, so hevie a companie as theare was!"

"Then I went in to the howse and thought to see him and so departe my waie, for I sawe my lord Thomas was going awaie, and as I was going he (this is apparently the duke himself) called me to him and said he woold weare my cote. I told him I was the more sorryer to see hit; and so I did put of my cote, and being in my hoze and doublet did wrap my cloake about me and praied God to send him well to dooe, and so departed, not having anie thing at all but a damasking dagger, which I gave immedyatlie awaie to a servaunte of the howse, and so went into the towne."

"Thomas Rampton's confessyon of his practise at Coventry for the having of the towne to the duke of Suffolk's use" is a long paper, of which the most important particulars are as follow:—

Upon his first coming to Coventry he consulted with Mr. Anthony Corbyt, his "old familyar," whom he did not find well inclined to his purpose. But Richard Aslyn and one Frauncis voluntecred their assistance. He shewed them the declaration made in the duke's proclamation, that his object was to withstand the coming of the strangers; and they affirmed in reply that "the whole of this town is my lord's and at his commandement, unles it be certayn of the counsayle of the towne." They then told him they thought it necessary to obtain immediate possession of Warwick and Killingworth castles, in the former of which were viij pieces of ordnance. Two other townsmen then joined their consultation, named William Glover and Clerk, who had just come from London, and had talked by the way of the duke's coming down.

"Then Clerk told me that my lordes grace had done evill in one point, for by the waye at Tauxato[r] (Towcester) he had (commyng now downe into the countrey) spoken openly

that he had not passing fortye poundes in his house, "for (sayeth he) that may be a discoragyng to men that peradventure shall looke for money at his handes."

"Tushe (sayeth Glover), let not my lord care for money, for yf he will come hether, there will be money ynough for hym. I know he shall not want money, I know yt."

Mr. Burdet is then mentioned as being Rampton's companion, who was to go and give the duke notice when they were prepared to receive him in the city.

But the friends of the house of Grey were either too few or too timid to make an effectual head. A messenger that Rampton had sent to Warwick to Hudson, one of his fellows, returned with tidings that Hudson had already been arrested by the earl of Huntingdon; after hearing which, Rampton himself left Coventry, telling his friends that he went to hasten the coming of the duke.

The statement of Bowyer shews that the share of John Harrington in this conspiracy was something more than merely carrying a letter, which, it seems, he afterwards told his family (see the notes previously inserted in pp. 53, 71). A letter of bishop Gardyner to secretary Petre relates the circumstances of his arrest:—

"Master secretary, after my most harty commendations. In the mornyng I thought good to serch the mynoresse and Medles lodging[a] there for letters, and, among others, founde a letter lately wrytten by Harrington, which Harrington cam to me this night, and, after examination, I have taken him tardy by occasion of that lettre, and kept him with me as prisoner this night, entending in the mornyng to send him to the towre; for he hath confessed howe upon fridaye at night the lord John Gray cam to Cheston, where master Wroth and he was, and spake with master Wroth and him to get a gyde to leade him the waye to Saincte Albons, bicause he was commaunded by the quene, he said, to levye men in his countrie in al the hast; and more I cannot get yet, but ye muste in any wise send for th'apprehension of Wroth, and this matier wyl cume out and towche fully.

"And as I was in hand with that matier, were delyvered such lettres as in tymes past I durst not have opened, but nowe sumwhat hette with treasons I waxed bolder. Wherin I trust I shalbe borne with: wherin happe helpith me, for they be worth the breking up and I could holly disciphre them; wherin I wyl spare sumwhat of my leysure if I canne have any; but this apperith, that the lettre wryten from my lady Elizabeth to the quenes highnes nowe late in her excuse is taken a matier worthy to be sent in to Fraunce, for I have the copy of it in the Frenche ambassadours pacquet.[b] I wyl knowe what canne be doone in the disciphring, and to morowe remitte that I cannot doo unto youe. And so fare ye hartely wel. At my howse in Sowthwerke the xxvij of January.

Master Wharton shall tel youe the rest. Yo[r] assured loving friend, Ste. Winton. cancell[r]."

To the right worshipful syr William Peter, knight, oone of the quenes highnes principal secretoryes."

---

[a] See a note in p. 66.

[b] The packet which bishop Gardyner stopped was that which accompanied the letter of "M. de Noailles au Roy, 23 et 26 janvier, 1553," printed at vol. iii. p. 43, of the Ambassades de Noailles. Speaking of the lady Elizabeth he says, "J'ay recouvert le double

The assertion of bishop Cooper (before noticed in p. 123), that the duke of Suffolk "again proclaimed his daughter," though certainly untrue, was not only countenanced by George Ferrers in Grafton's Chronicle, who says that he proceeded "to publish a proclamation in his daughter's name," but might be justified by the following royal proclamation: which assumes the duke's intentions to have been to revive his daughter's claim to the throne. Such a suspicion, of course, would at once be entertained by the friends of Mary, and such a suspicion, whether entertained in sincerity or affected, could form the sole excuse for the judicial sacrifice of the unfortunate lady Jane.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, Philip and Mary, No. 43.]

Mazye the quene By the Queene.

The quene our Soveraign Lady geveth knowledge to all and singular her true and loving subjects, That Henry duke of Suffolk, with the Carews, Wyat and others, conspyring with hym, have by sowing of false and sedicious rumours raised certain evill disposed personnes in Kent unnaturallie to rise and rebell against hir heighnes. Mynding her graces destruction and to advaunce the lady Jane his daughter, and Guilforde Dudley hir husbande, the duke of Northumberlandes sonne, her graces traytours attaynted unto hir Majesties Crowne. And therefore hir Majestie willeth all Maiors, Shirieffs, Bailieffs, Constables, and alle other hir officers, ministres, and good subjects to whom it apperteyneth in this parte, To proclayme unto all hir graces loving subjectes within their severall offices The said Duke of Suffolk, his bretherne, and Thomas Wiatt of Kent, and all other thiere confederates, to be false traytours unto hir heighnes and hir crowne, and dignitie roiall And that hir Majestie hath sett fourthe her puissaunce to subdue the said traitours Trusting by the healpe and grace of God and the aide of hir said loving subjects utterly to confounde the said traitours Wherfore hir Majestie exhorteth all her true subjectes bearing true heartes to God and hir and hir crowne, and the realme of Englande, to put them selfes in order and redynes to resist the said duke and all his adherents and commaundementes, which service of hir Majesties loving subjectes hir grace shal consider to all their comfortes, besides that God will undoubtedly rewarde thier service."

The next document is a circular letter (probably addressed to lieutenants of counties and other powerful noblemen), desiring them to exert themselves to suppress the rebellion:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, Philip and Mary, No 28, an original, signed, but not dated or directed. A duplicate original in the Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner, No. 90, p. 196; printed by Miss Wood, Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 287.]

---

d'une lettre qu'elle escripvoit à ladicte royne, que l'ambassadeur de l'empereur a faict traduire en François, qui est cy enclosé." From a postscript it appears that the ambassador took the precaution to send his letters in duplicate, and thus one copy, at least, arrived at its destination.

By the Quene.

Mary the quene.

Trusty and right welbiloved, we grete you well. And where the duke of Suffolke and his brethern, with dyverse other personnes, forgettyng their trewth and dyutye of allegiaunce which they owe to God and us, and also the greate mereye which the sayd duke hath lately receyved of us, be as we are surely enformed revolted and malytyously conspyred togethers to styrr our people and subjectes moost unnaturally to rebell agaynst us, and the lawes lately made by aucthoritie of parlyament for the restitution of the true catholique chrestian Religion, making theyr only pretence nevertheles (though falsely) to let the cumming in of the Prynce of Spayne and his trayne, spredding most false rumours that the sayd Prynce and the Spanyardes entende to conquer this our Realme Wheras his sayd cumming is for the greate honour and suretye of us and our sayd Realme, as we doubt not God wyll in the end make a most playne demonstration to the comforthe of all our good subjectes. Therfore trusteng in your fidelitie, valyantnes, and good courage to serve us and our sayd Realme agaynst the sayd traytours and rebelles We requyre you immediatly upon the sight hereof to put yourself in order to represse the same with all the power, puissance, and force ye can possibly make of horsmen and footmen, as well of your own ffrendes, tenauntes, and servauntes, as others under your rule. To the levyeng, rayseng, and leading of which force we gyve you full power and aucthoritie by thies presentes. Willeng you further to have a vigilant eye to all suche as spredde those false rumours, and them t'apprehende and commyt to warde to be ordred as the lawe requyreth. And to th'intent our good subjectes shall fully understande uppon howe false a grounde the sayde traytours buylde, and howe honorably we have concluded to marye with the sayd Prynce, we sende unto you th'articles of the sayd conclusion for Mariage. Wherfore, right trusty and right welbiloved, as ye be a man of courage, and beare good harte to us your liege Lady and countreye, nowe acquyte yourself according to your bounden dieutye which ye owe to God and us, and we shall considre the same God willing as shalbe to the good comfortes of you and yours. Yeven undre our Signet at our Manour of St. James the [27th] of January the first yere of our reigne.

The queen's pardon to "all such as would desist from their purpose" (see p. 38).

[MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. VII. p. 12.]

By the Quene.

Mary, the quene: *(impressed with a wooden stamp.)*

The Quenes highenes most excellent Ma^te^ understanding how Thomas Wyat, confederat with other lewde and evill disposed personnes, have, under the pretense of the benefite of the commenwelthe of the Realme to withstande straungers, sette furthe a Proclamation, therby to assemble her highenes good, true, and lovinge subjectes, to the disturbaunce of the realme, the confusion of this commonwelth, and the destruction of her most noble personne and astate (which God forbidde), her saide highnes being mercifully moved towardes the conservation of her subjectes from all perill and daunger, and glad to relieve suche as shulde be by sinistre motions abused and seduced: hathe thought goode to signifie to her saide subjectes that whosoever upon any proclamation made and sette furthe

by the said Thomas or any other private man, to the purpose aforesayde, shall happen to assemble accordinge to the same, and upon knowlege herof shall, within xxiiij houres after, returne to their houses and live there quietly and obediently: her highenes is contented to pardonne that their doinge in the saide assemblie, and to defende and manteyne them as her highenes good subjectes, to the benefite and comforte of them and their posteritie.

One further document from the State Paper Office (No. 47) is here appended: the portions printed in Italic types showing the additions by some person in high place, suggesting the manner in which those who had served queen Mary best were "to be rewarded." The earl of Pembroke's name was placed at the head by the same writer:—

The names of certaine lordes and gentlemen that were with hir majestes power against the Rebelles. *Endorse*, to be rewardyd.

My lord of Pembrooke.
My lorde Admyrall--*to be a lord and C li. land.*
My lorde Marshall.—*The purchase of his land.*
My lorde Fytzwater.—*L li. in land.*
My lorde of Ormonde.
My lorde Thomas Hawarde.
My lorde Gerat—*restitution of his land beyng in the quenes hand.*
My lorde Dudley.
Sir John Parrot.—*C li.*
Sir Edward Bray.—*CC markes.*
Sir Robert Tirwhit.
Sir George Hawarde.—*C li.*
Mr. Poynings—*consideration to be had in his debt.*
Mr. Awdeley.—*CC markes.*
Mr. Matson.
Mr. Lytton.—*C li.*
Mr. Pharman.
Mr. Warram St. Leger.
Mr. Hungerforde.
Mr. Byrche.
Mr. Cheynie.
Mr. Tirrell.—*C li.*
Mr. Worthington—*consideration of his debt and L li.*
Mr. Ferres.—*C li.*
Mr. Leghe.—*C li.*
Mr. Gowen, captein of the skowts—*consideration of his debt.*
Mr. Barry, under marshal—*C li.*
My lorde Stewardes men.—*CC markes.*
Robert Palmer.
Mr. Robertes, one of his captaines, who with dyvers other of his fellowes dyd well.

My lord Privie Seal—*CC. markes.*

Mr. Crayforde, capten of his horsemen.

Mr. Dudekey, captein of his footmen.

Mr. Drury, who with dyvers others dyd well.

My lorde Paget's men—*CC. markes.*

Jherom Palmer, capteine of his horsemen.

Wallwin, capteine of his footemen, who with dyvers others dyd very well.

My lord Marshall's men—*CC. markes.*

Stephin Plasted,

William Jones, his capteins, who with dyvers others did well.

My lord lieutenauntes men—*CCL*[li].

Mr. Clerk, his lieutenant for the tyme.

Mr. Penruddock, the standard bearer.

Mr. Bellingham.

Mr. Broughton.

Mr. Highgate.

Mr. Champnes.

Morgan Johns, captaine of the footmen.

The mr. of the horses twoo captaynes—C[li].

Edmund Tyrell—C[li].

Another longer paper, No. 48, is a catalogue of the arms and armour delivered out of her Majesty's stores during the time of Wyat's rebellion, concluding with the list of a large number of arms which were "Lost and imbesilled at Westminster, the daye of the battell, which amonges others were appointed by the queenes majestie her owne commandement to serve upon the soubden."

Page 131, note. Holinshed's account of the defeat of Wyat's army is in fact that of Grafton's chronicle, and its author is known to have been George Ferrers[a] the poet and "lord of misrule to king Edward." It is so perfectly clear and accurate, that it could only be from unpardonable carelessness or want of apprehension that other erroneous accounts have been mingled with it by subsequent writers.

Page 133. Bishop Christopherson gives another interpretation to Mary's expression of reliance in "her captain":

"Who (the queen), while the field was in fyghtynge, was ferventlye occupied in prayinge. And when as tidinges was brought her, that by treason all was loste, she like a valiant champion of Christe, nothynge abashed therwith, sayd that she doubted not at al, but her Captayne (meaning thereby our Saviour Christe) woulde have the victory at lengthe, and falling to her prayers agayne, anone after had she worde broughte her, that her men had wonne the fielde, and that Wyate her enemies captayne was taken." Exhortation agaynst Rebellion, 1554, sig. O ij.

---

[a] Stowe, in his chronicle (edit. 1615, p. 632), after relating the loss of Calais, adds—"whereof maister George Ferrers hath written at large, for he collected the whole history of Q. Mary, as the same is sette downe under the name of Richard Grafton."

INDEX.

Abergavenny, lord 37, 48, 99, 177
Alva, duke of 138, 171
Amory, Stephen 112
Anna of Cleves, lady 28, 179
Antwerp, commotion at 77
Aquillara, marquis 171
Arnold, sir Nich. 65, 69
Articles of inquiry by bishop of London 82
Arundel, earl of 1 *note*, 7, 10, 12, 14, 37, 60, 82, 99, 109, 110, 119, 120, 138, 139, 140, 170
Ashridge, lady Elizabeth prisoner at 177
Aslyn, Richard 183
Astley, 124
Atslow, Luke 174
Awdeley, mr. 187
Baker, sir John 15, 91, 100, 109
Barnaby, mr. 33
Barnes, sir George 100
Barry, Mr. 187
Basil 39
Basing 144
Baskerfield 19
Bath, earl of 4, 119
Bedford, earl of, (lord privy seal,) 39, 48, 68, 91, 99, 109, 168, 169, 178, 188
Bedingfield, sir Henry 5
Bell, William 41
Bellingham, mr. 188
Berghes, marquis of 171
Berkeley, sir Maurice 50, 100, 133
Berridge 183
Berwick, proclamation of queen Jane at 41
Bird, bishop of Chester 177
Bishops, expelled 68, 177; created 72
Blount, sir Richard 100
Bonner, bishop 15, 33, 142, 168, 178; his articles of inquiry 82
Boothe, Hugh 52, 64
Boureman, doctor 19
Bourne, secretary 68, 73, 82, 177
Bower, Thomas 100
Bowes, sir Robert 100, 109
Bowyer, John 182
Boys, battle of 67
Bradschawe, Henry 100
Bradshaw, Laurence 135
Bray, sir Edward 131, 187
—— John lord 99, 170
Brett, Alexander 38, 47, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61
—— R. 100
Broke, Richard 100
Broughton, mr. 188
Broune, Anthony (two) 100
—— Henry 100
Browne, sir Anthony 14, 34, 55, 72, 138 140; created lord Montacute 81, 82, 152
Browne, sir Humphry 100
Brydges, sir John 44, 51, 52, 56, 57, 109; created lord Chandos 72
—— Thomas 18, [not John] 53, 57; sworn lieutenant of the Tower 76, 180
Buckinghamshire, rises in favour of Mary 8
Burdet 183, 184
Bury 9; proclamation of queen Mary at 112
Bury, William 100
Bush, bishop of Bristol 177
Byrche, mr. 187
Calatrava, grand master of 171

Cambridge 9, 10; university 102, 176
Cardiff, lord 28, 72
Care-cloth 142
Carew, sir Gawen 35, 42, 66
——— sir Peter 35, 42, 111, 112, 176
——— mr. 170
Castellar, conde de 171
Castille, admiral of 138, 171
Cave, mr. doctor 182
Cecill, sir William 4 *note*, 87, 91, 99, 103, 105, 109, 176
Chaloner, sir Thomas 175
Chamberlayne, mr. 52, 61
Chamberlyn, Rich. 100
Champernowne, sir Arthur 42
Champnes, mr. 188
Chandos (see Brydges), lord, creation of 72; his account of Wyat's interview with Courtenay, ib.
Charing cross, conflict at 49, 51
Cheapside cross 149
Cheke, sir John 12, 13, 27, 91, 99, 109
Cheney, sir Thomas (lord warden) 9, 12, 36, 45, 91, 99, 109, 175, 177
Chester, sir William 100
Cheynie, mr. 187
Chinchon, conde de 171
Cholmley 183
—— sir Roger 26, 99
Christopherson, bishop 188
Clerk, — 184, 188
Clifford, lady Margaret, 84, 169
Clinton, lord 11, 39, 41, 48, 91, 99, 152
Cobham, lord 36, 41, 71, 91, 99, 176
—— George 62
—— Thomas 50, 51, 52, 53, 62, 131, 133
—— sir William 53, 62, 71
Coinage of Philip and Mary 82
Colchester 111, 112
Coleharbour 41
Cooper, bishop 122, 123
Corbett, Anthony 183
Cornhill 80, 147
Cornwaleys, sir Thomas 63, 177
Cotton, sir Richard 99, 109
Courtenay, sir —— 33, *see* Devonshire
Coventry, 113, 123, 124, 183; Rampton arraigned there 65
Cowling castle 36, 176
Cox, doctor 15
Cranmer, archbishop 27, 32, 68, 91, 99, 109; his apology 87
Crayford, mr. 188
Croft, sir J. 13, 36, 40, 63, 69, 75, 76, 180
Croke, William 100
Cromer 54
Crown pieces, French and Burgundian 68
Cuenca, baron 171
Culpepper, mr. 36
Culpepers (two) 54, 71
Dale, Philip 174
Damselle, W. 100
Dancing at the queen's marriage 143, 170
Danett 65, 71
Darell, Thomas 174
Darcy, lord 15, 91, 99, 109
Dartford, Wyat's men at 40, 42
Dartmouth 114
Davynport, Thomas 123
Dawntesey, Christ. 100
Denny, sir Philip 51
Denys, sir Thomas 42
Deptford, Wyat's men at 40
Derby, earl of 119, 138, 140, 141, 169
Dernley, Henry lord, character of 166
Devonshire, rising in 35, 42
Devonshire, earl of 14, 20, 34, 59, 60, 61, 67, 69, 76
Dibbins, William 174
Digges, Leonard 67

Dob, of Bosat 15
Dobbs, sir Richard 100
Dodge, John 134
Dorrell, Christopher 46
Drake, Robert 63
Drury, mr. 188
—— sir Andrew 18
—— sir William 5
Duddeley, lord Ambrose 27, 32
—— sir Andrew 175
—— lord Guildford 13, 27, 32, 33; execution of 55
—— master Harry 32, 175
—— lord Harry 27, 32
—— lord Robert 33, 35, 111
Dudley, mr. 188
—— Edward lord 134, 187
Durham place, 3 *note*, 6, 8, 34 *note*
Dyer, James 100
Edgcumb, sir Richard 176
Edmunds, Ambrose 174
Edward, king, death of 1; hisletters patent for the succession to the throne, 2 *note*, 87; his autograph device 89; his minutes for his last will 101; rumour that he was poisoned 110
Egerton, Thomas 82
Egmont, count 34, 135, 140, 171
Elder, John 136
Eleyn, mistress 56, 57
Elizabeth, the lady 13, 14, 27, 28, 62, 69, 176, 184; sent prisoner to the Tower 70; her asserted interview with Wyat 72, 75; released 76; declared illegitimate by Edward VI. 92, 93; his provision for her marriage 101
Englefield, sir H. 82
Exeter, seizure of 35, 42
Exeter, marchioness of 14
Farnham,(?) mr. 187
Feckenham, dean 57
Feria, conde de 171
Ferrar, bp. of St. David's 177
Ferrers, George 129, 130, 185, 187, 188
Figueroa, don Juan 168, 171
Finsbury field 42
Fisher, Henry 100
Fitzgerald, lord 13, 34, 99, 187
FitzWalter, lord 68, 82, 99, 168, 187
Fitzwarren, lord 13, 99
FitzWilliam, John 38, 67, 69, 71
———— William 100
Fogge, Edward 53
Foreigners, proclamation to expel 61
Framlingham castle 5, 11, 111
Freston, Richard 5
Fuensalida, conde de 171
Fulford, sir John 176
Fynderne 183
Gage, sir Henry 100
—— sir John (lord chamberlain) 18, 21, 49, 58, 71, 72, 75, 76, 131, 132, 168, 180
Gardyner, bishop 14, 15, 16, 28, 31, 33, 34, 40, 53, 54, 75, 77; his wiping out the Verbum Dei 79; 82, 139, 140, 153, 168, 169; Latin couplet by 144; sermon at St. Paul's 161; letter to secretary Petre 184
Garrard, sir Will. 100, 110
Garrett, lord, *see* Fitzgerald
Gate, John 91, 99
Gates, sir John 8, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22
—— sir Henry 13, 18, 33
Glover, William 184
Godsalve, sir John 82
Gomez, don Rui 138, 171
Gonzaga, don Cesar 171
Goodrich, bishop 91, 109
Gosnold, John 91, 100
Gowen, mr. 187
Grantham, proclamation of queen Mary at 113
Greenwich, Wyat's men at 40

Gresham, sir John 100
Grey, lord John 37, 54, 63, 77, 124
—— lord Leonard 37
—— lord Thomas 61, 63, 67, 75, 99, 126
Grey of Wilton, lord 8, 11, 13, 62, 99
Griffin, Rodolph 174
Gryffyn, Edward 91, 100
Guisnes, siege of 62
Gybbes, William 42, 66
Gyfford, William 100
Hampton Court, the queen at 31, 152
Harenden, Henry 174
Hargrave, Nicholas 174
Harley, bp. of Hereford 177
Harrington, John 53, 71, 182, 184
Harris, Richard 174
Harper, sir George 36, 38, 42, 47, 53
Hartopp, 19, 76
Hastings, lord 74
Hastings, sir Edward 8, 27, 28, 63, 68
Harvey, William 50
Hawley, Thomas 50
Haywood, master 30
Heath, bishop 22
Heigham, Clement 5, 175
Henry VIII. his limitation of the crown 85
Herbert of Cardiff, lord 72, 137
Hereford, viscount (lord Ferrers) 15, 26
Herefordshire, rising in 40
Hewitt, sir Will. 100
Highgate, mr. 188
Hilles, Richard, 100
Hinde, sir Aug. 100
Hoby, sir Philip, 1, 106, 107, 108, 119, 175
Hodson, Nicholas 174
Holgate, archbp. 68, 78
Honynges, William 66
Hooper, bishop 68, 111, 177
Hornes, count of 171
Household, Royal, reduction of 82
Howard, lord Thomas 187
—— lord William 41, 43, 50, 63, 129, 180, 187
—— sir George 187
Hudson 184
Hume, John, lord of Jedburgh 165
Hungerford, mr. 187
Hunsdon 1
Huntingdon, earl of 11, 13, 27, 37, 41, 53 74, 91, 99, 124, 125, 182, 184
Ipswich, riot at 81
Isley, Thomas 66
Isley, sir Harry 36, 37, 42, 54, 66
Jacob the lady Jane's gentlewoman 25
JANE, queen, proclamation of 3, 110; her reign 3—9; a prisoner 13, 19, 25, 33; trial 32 execution 55; her nomination to the crown by Edward VI. 87, 89, 94; State Papers during her reign 106—109
Jerningham, sir Henry 5, 8, 37, 39, 51, 131
Jedwarth, the laird of 165
Johns, Morgan 188
Jones, William 188
Judd, sir Andrew 100
Kenynghall 1, 4, 106
Kingston bridge 45, 46
Kingston, sir Anthony 108
Knevett, Anthony 53, 66
—— William 36, 50, 51, 53, 66, 131
—— Thomas 52
Knight, William 100
Knightsbridge 48
Lambard, sir John 100
Lambeth palace 153
Landriano, conde 171
Latimer, Hugh 26, 68
Leadenhall, musters at 37
Leghe, mr. 187
Livery, the queen's 74; king Philip's 134
Locke, Thomas 19
Lodge, sir Thomas 100

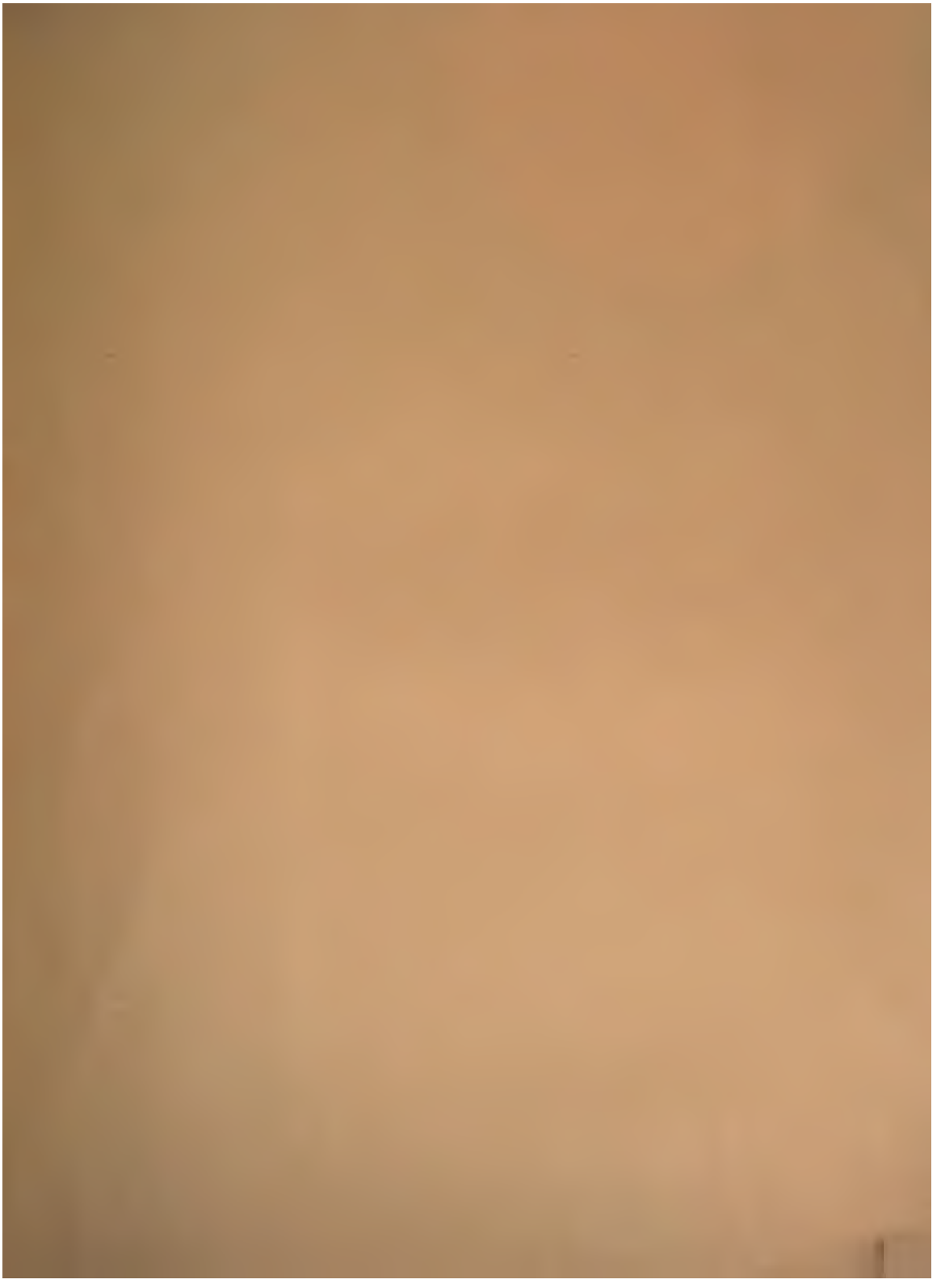
London, proclamation of queen Jane 3; of Mary 11; reception of queen Mary 14; pageants at her coronation 28—31; at the entry of king Philip 78, *et seq.* 145, *et seq.*; lord treasurer's speech at Guildhall 37; the queen there 40; gallows erected 59
Lovell, Thomas 7, 11
Lucar, Emanuell 75, 100
Lucas, John 91, 100
Lynn, proclamation of queen Jane at 111
Lytton, mr. 187
Mallory, Richard 100
Maltravers, lord 28, 137
Mantell, Walter (the two) 51, 66
Martini, sieur de, &c. 171
MARY, the lady, 1 *notes*, 4—8; proclaimed queen 11; comes to London 14; her procession through London, and coronation 27—32; her marriage announced 32, 34; comes to address the Londoners at Guildhall 40; her mercy towards Southwark 44; her conduct on Wyat's attack 48, 188; marriage 78, 141, 167; declared illegitimate by Edward VI. 92, 93; his provision for her marriage 101; letter to king Philip 177; her style 142, 178
Mason, sir John 12, 100, 109
Matson, mr. 187
Medina Celi, duke of 135, 138, 171
Medley, mr. 66, 184
Melton Mowbray 123
Menchen, Thomas 45
Mendoca, don Diego de [108?] 171
Metham, Alexander 41
Meyrick, John 174
Middleton, Edward 179
Mildmay, Thomas 10
Modica, conde de 171
Montacute, lord 152, *see* Browne
Montague, chief justice 4 *note*, 26, 87, 91, 99
Moore, clerk of cheque of the pensioners 129
Mordaunt, sir John 4
More, George 53, 66
—— Thomas, 174
Morgan, serjeant 5
Morysine, sir Richard 108, 109, 175
Musters at Leadenhall 37; in St. James's field and Finsbury field 42, 47
Mytton, Richard 63, 126
de las Navas, marquis 134, 135, 137, 171
Nayler, 67
Nevill, Henry 100
Newman 130
Newse, Clement 19
Newton Abbot 114
Nicholson, of Paules chain 41
Noailles 88, 107, 115, 122, 180, 181, 184
Noble, John 174
Norfolk, county of 178
—— duke of, 14, 15, 16, 28. 37, 39, 40, 176
Norres, John 129, 134
Norris, Henry 100
North, lord, creation of 72, 82, 100
Northampton, marquess of 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 18, 33, 36, 51, 55, 70, 71, 91, 99, 121, 180
—— town of 183
Northumberland, duke of 3, 5—11, 13; his trial 16; execution 21; lady Jane's remarks on his conduct 25; his lodging in the Tower 27; his unpopularity 87; his circular letter to lieutenants of counties 103; mentioned 91, 99, 105, 125
—— duchess of 13
Norwich 8; proclamation of Mary at 111
Offley, sir Thomas 55, 100
Olivares, conde de 171
Orange, prince of 166
Ormond, earl of 13, 33, 37, 39, 187
Oswestry 126

Owen, Lewis 174
Oxford, parliament at 65, 72
Oxford, earl of 28, 99, 109
Oxfordshire, rising in favour of the lady Mary 9
Paget, lord 27, 48, 152, 188
Palmer, Jerome 188
—— Robert 182, 187
—— sir Thomas 18, 20; execution of 22
—— sir Thomas, (another,) 37
—— William 174
Parkhurst, bishop 174
Parliament of 1553, acts of 32, 181
Parliament of 1554, 72
Partrige, 25, 55
Parys, sir Philip 131
Paul's cross sermons 76, 82
Paul's school 150
Peckham, sir Edmond, Preface v, 8, 12, 33, 119, 178
—— Henry 129
Pembroke, earl of 9, 11, 12, 15, 39, 40, 41, 48, 62, 82, 91, 99, 109, 110, 131, 133, 140, 141, 169, 187
Pendleton, dr. 76
Penruddock 188
Perrott, sir John 187
Pescara, marquess of 135, 171
Peter, a Dutchman 30
Petre, secretary 82, 88, 90, 109
Pharman, mr. 187
Philip prince of Spain, arrival of 77; his progress to London *ib.*; his landing at Southampton 137; invested with the Garter 138; meets the queen at Winchester 140; marriage 78, 141, 167; made king of Naples and Jerusalem 141, 168; his style 142, 178; visit to St. Paul's 161; his personal appearance 165; his dancing 170
Pickering, sir William 175
Piddock, Richard 63
Piedmont, prince of 165
Plasted, Stephen 188
Pole, lodged at Lambeth 152; his speech to the parliament as legate 154; procession to St. Paul's 161; reception 179
Pollard, sir Hugh 176
Pope, sir Thomas 51, 52, 65
Portman, sir Harry 100
Porpoises taken in Sussex 72
Poor Pratte, epistle of 115
Potter, Gilbert 115
Powlet, lord Chidioke 50
Poynings, Ponynges, Poins, or Poyntz,—Adrian 100
—— sir Nicholas 44, 51, 52, 109
—— mr. 187
Proclamations on religion 24; for remitting the subsidy 26; against the duke of Suffolk, the Carews, Wyat, &c. 185; of pardon to the adherents of Wyat 186
Proctor's historie of Wyates Rebellion 36 *note*
Protestants, foreign, proclamation to expel 61
Purefay, Francis 5
Radcliffe, sir Humphrey 128
Rampton, Thomas 54, 65, 183
Ratcliffe, Henry 5
Raynford, John 100
Reading 144
Reding, Thomas 174
Regalls, pair of 152
Rich, lord 91, 99, 109
Richmond, queen at 76, 78, 145
Ridley, bishop 27, 68, 99
Robertes, mr. 187
Rochester 37, 38, 82
Rogers, sir Edward 65, 69, 100
Rokeby, serjeant 100
Rokewode, Nicholas 132
Rudston, Robert 36, 42, 53, 66

Rutter, a warder 27
Russell, Francis lord 15, 99
Sackville, sir Richard 100
Sadler, sir Ralph 100
Saldanda, conde de 171
Salisbury, Margaret countess of, Elder's remarks on her execution 153
Salisbury 134
Sanders, sir Edward 113, 125
Sandys, dr. Edwin 39
Satwel, John 174
Saunders, Ninion 115
Savia, marquess of 171
Savoy, the 102
St. James's field 42, 44, 47
St. John, lord 99; sir John 15
Sentleger, sir Anth. 100, 175
—— sir John 42, 176
—— Warham 187
St. Lowe, sir John 108
—— sir William 65, 69, 71
Scory, bp. of Chichester 142, 168
Seymour, John 51
Seymour (duke of Somerset's sons) 19, 20, 21
Sheen, priory of 122
Shelley, Richard 137
Shelton, sir John 5
Shrewsbury, earl of 12, 82, 91, 99, 109, 110, 114, 120, 122, 126, 138, 180
Silliard, Richard 12
Silva, *see* Gomez
Singleton, Hugh 115, 121, 181
Slegge, Roger 10
Smethwick, William 53, 71
Somerset, duchess of 14, 16
—— sir George 175
Southampton 134, 137, 138
Southwark 41, 43, 181; queen Mary's mercy towards 44; Wyat's departure from 45
Southwark place 78, 145
Southwell, sir Richard 5, 100, 131, 132
—— sir Robert (not Richard), 45, 65, 100
Spaniards, swarm in London 81; friar at Lambeth 82
Stamford 112
Stamp for the royal signature 135, 186
State Papers of the reign of queen Jane, list of 106-109; of the first two years of queen Mary 174—179
Stradling, sir Thomas 28
Strange, lord 99, 137
Strangways the rover 68
Strangways, sir Giles 74
Stuart, lord Robert, bp. of Caithness 137
Suffolk, duke of 3 *note*, 5, 12, 16, 37, 41, 55, 58, 91, 99, 109; flight and capture of 122; trial of 60; execution 63
—— duchess of 36
Suffolk, insurrection in 81
Suffolk place, Southwark 145
Sulierde, John 5
Surrey, earl of 137
Sussex, earl of 5, 68, 70, 71, 170, 177, 179
Sydney, sir Henry 13, 68, 100
Syon house 3 *note*
Talbot, George lord 99, 137
Taylebushe, lady 27
Taylor, bp. of Lincoln 177
Temple Newsome 166
Thirlby, bp. of Norwich and Ely 142, 168, 171, 175
Thomas, Edmund 174
—— William 63, 65, 69; executed 76
Throckmorton, Clement 129
—— John 55
—— sir Nicholas 1, 12, 13, 63, 74, 75, 100
—— sir Robert 2
Tichborne, Edward 174
Toledo, don Antonio de 171
Towcester 184

Treasure, Spanish, brought to the Tower 83
Tresham, sir Thomas 12, 13
Troughton, Richard 111, 112
Tunstall, bishop 31, 142, 168
Tutton 38
Twichenor, Henry 174
Tylney. Elizabeth 56, 57
Tyrrell, mr. 187; Edmund 188
Tyrwhytt, sir Robert 187
sir Thomas 12
Underhill, Edward 128, 170
Underwood 124
Valladolid, major of 171
Vallefiguiere, major of *ib.*
de los Vallos, marquis of *ib.*
Vane, Thomas 53
—— Henry 71
Vaughan, Cuthbert 49, 53, 59, 64, 66, 68, 75, 131
Verbum Dei, anecdote of London pageantry 78
Veron 39
Waldegrave, sir William 82, 175
Wallwin 188
Warner, sir Edward 36
la Warre, lord, *5 note*
Warren, Christopher 54, 125
Warwick castle 184
Warwick, earl of 10, 16, 19, 20, 27, 99, 121
— countess of, 27
Watson, doctor 18, 20
Weldon, mr. 134
Wentworth, Thomas lord 99
Westmerland, earl of 11, 82, 99
Westminster, proclamation of Mary at 114
Westminster abbey, visited by the king and queen 152
Weston, doctor Hugh 41, 64, 73
Wether, Laurence 100
Wharton, sir Thomas 4, 184
Whetston, Thomas 75
White, bishop of Winchester 142, 168, 174
—— Gabriel 174; Richard *ib.*
Whitehall 152
Williams, sir John 9, 12, 63; created lord Williams of Thame 72, 76, 82
William, John 100
Willoby, Arkenwold 174
Willoughby, lord 99
Winchester, king Philip's reception at 139; the queen's marriage at 167
Winchester college, verses 143, 172
Winchester, marquess of 9, 15, 28, 36, 60, 70, 75, 76, 82, 91 99, 109, 169, 170, 180
Winchester marchioness of 168
Winchester house 15
Windsor, king and queen's reception at 144
Windsor, lord 8, 99
Winter, Robert 63, 75, 76
Withers, John 100
Woodstock, princess Elizabeth prisoner at 76
Worcester, earl of 99
Worthington, mr. 187
Wotton, doctor 175
Wright, Thomas 174
Wroth, mr. 182, 184
Wrothe, sir Thomas 100
Wyat, Edward 53
—— sir Thomas, his rebellion 36 *et seq.*; proclamations against 40, 41, 185; surrender of 50; his reception at the Tower 51, 52; trial 68; execution 72; exculpates Elizabeth and Courtenay 73; letters 175; his conduct at Southwark, and general character 181
Yarmouth 8; proclamation of Mary at 111
York 113
Yorke, 27, 32, 76

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, PARLIAMENT STREET, WESTMINSTER.



DA 20 .R9 v.48 C.1
The chronicle of Queen Jane,
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 041 412 292

942.0
C17
v.48

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

DEC 13 1996
JUN 15 2001
JUN 24 2001